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Compendious Martyrology,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE SUFFERINGS AND CONSTANCY

OF

CHRISTIANS,

IN THE

DIFFERENT PERSECUTIONS WHICH HAVE

RAGED AGAINST THEM UNDER

PAGAN AND POPISH GOVERNMENTS.

BY RICHARD REECE.

"THESE ARE THEY WHICH CAME OUT OF GREAT TRIBULATION, AND HAVE WASHED THEIR ROBES, AND MADE THEM WHITE IN THE BLOOD OF THE LAMB." Rev. xi. 14.

VOLUME II.

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Compendious Martyrology,

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SECTION I.

The Life and Persecutions of Martin Luther.

MARTIN LUTHER is a man celebrated throughout the world as the undaunted opposer of the errors, corruptions, and priestly domination of the church of Rome, as well as the honoured instrument of enlightening Europe, which had long sat in darkness and the shadow of death. He tore off the bandage with which superstition had closed the eyes of mankind for so many ages; and, aided by the art of printing, presented to astonished and delighted thousands, the religion of Jesus as taught in the New Testament. In doing this, his life was exposed to perpetual hazard, and his sufferings were great, but his supports and consolations were great also. The following account will make the reader acquainted with his labours and the difficulties through which he had to pass, and at the same time convince him that God selects and prepares his own instruments when he has any great purpose to accomplish.

In the fifteenth century, the state of the church was, above measure, corrupt, and in civil as well as religious affairs, nothing but wickedness covered the face of the earth: this the Romanists themselves, both in that age and our own, have been constrained to acknowledge. To stem this torrent, God, who calls the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty, in the year 1483, caused Martin Luther to be born. His parents, John Luther and Margaret Lindeman, lived in a little village between Eisenach and Salzung. They came to Isleb to buy some things they wanted, when his mother was big with child, who was brought to bed of him there on the 10th of November, about eleven at night. After a short time his father removed and settled at Mansfield, where he followed his business, which was to work in the mines.

He was an honest man, and one that feared God; and when his son was capable of going to school, gave his master a particular charge concerning him. Being afterwards informed, that he took his learning well, he determined to breed him up a scholar. Accordingly, at fourteen years old he sent him to Magdeburg, and the next year to Eisenach. His great progress in learning was soon observed both by his masters, and other learned men.

Both at Magdeburg and Eisenach, being extremely poor, he procured himself the necessaries of life, by going round with several other poor scholars, singing psalms at the doors of the

citizens: till a pious gentlewoman of Eisenach, related to his mother, observing his devout manner of singing and praying, took him to diet at her own table. God by this means taught him, both a deep compassion for the poor, and an unshaken reliance on his providence.

While he was at school, he was excited to diligence in study by the usual motives of praise and vain glory. Having experienced the danger of this course, he was the more vehement all his life long in dissuading others from poisoning the minds of youth, either with desire of honour, or fear of contempt: insisting, that they ought to be accustomed to act, in childhood, as well as in riper years, only upon those nobler, and more powerful motives, the fear and the love of God.

In his eighteenth year he was sent to the university at Erfurt, where he made so swift a progress in his studies, that in less than three years' time the degree of master of arts was conferred upon him. All this time he attended all the public lectures; when there were none, he was in the library. He often conversed with the professors, and himself read lectures on Aristotle's ethics, and other parts of philosophy. Thus was he led, by the wise counsel of God, into a thorough knowledge of all these things, that he might afterwards be able to give the stronger testimony against the abuse of them.

In the midst of his philosophical studies, he always retained the fear of God. And hence it was that he constantly began his studies with fervent prayer to God, and through his whole life very frequently used this saying,—*Dimidium studii rite precatus habet*, i. e. He who has prayed aright, has half finished his study. Thus the goodness of God impressed that upon his mind, which preserved him even in his youth both from the wildness and laciviousness which are too common both in schools and universities.

Nor did God suffer him to stop here, but drew his inmost soul nearer and nearer to himself. While he was at the university, he fell into a dangerous illness, which caused him to meditate upon death. An old priest came to him in the height of it, and said, "Be of good courage: you shall not die of this sickness. Our God will make you a great man, who shall comfort many. For God lays the cross early upon him whom he loves, and is preparing for the salvation of others. Those who have patience, learn many things in the school of the cross." This gave him much comfort, and he had a thankful remembrance of it to his life's end.

Soon after, he was extremely shocked, by the terrible murder of an intimate acquaintance; so that he fell under a deep and lasting apprehension of the wrath and judgment of God. And as he returned one day from Mansfield to Erfurt, he was so

affrighted by thunder and lightning, that he fell to the earth half dead; and during that fright made a vow to God, that if his life was spared, he would wholly renounce the world, and retire into a monastry. He made no delay, but immediately entered himself in the monastery of the Augustines at Erfurt.

Here he was put upon hard service, being ordered, not only to discharge the office of porter, but also to clean and empty the necessary-house, and to go a begging round the city. It may be easily conceived, to what straits he was now reduced: not only finding no relief for his troubled mind, but having new burdens laid both on his body and soul; of which this was not the least, that his father would by no means be appeased or reconciled to his monastic life. And when he was at length prevailed upon to see him, he would receive no excuse, but left him that word, "Have you not heard, that children ought to obey their parents?"

In these floods was he tost to and fro, during the year of his noviciate. But in all his anxiety and trouble, he gave himself up to continued and earnest prayer: and all his vacant hours he employed in reading a Latin version of the Bible, which he studied with such application, and made so familiar to him, that he could turn at once to any passage contained therein. From the hour he first lit upon this in the library, he esteemed this book above all in the world: and often begged of God, that he might some time or other have such a book of his own. And now in the midst of all his superstitions and prejudices, did that good seed begin to be sown in his heart, which was never afterwards rooted out, till by the grace of God he brought forth fruit with patience.

It does not appear, that he ever complained of the hard usage he met with in the monastery; till some of the university prevailed with the superior, to exempt him from those mean employments: in which they were seconded by John Staupitius, the provincial of the order; who likewise advised him to draw all his doctrine from the fountain-head; which advice he willingly obeyed.

In the twenty-fourth year of his age, 1507, he was ordained priest. He was then ordered to read the schoolmen; which he did with all diligence, together with the ecclesiastical historians. Notwithstanding which, he hid himself as often as he could in the library, with his Bible; the only book, as he often said, wherein he could find comfort, in the melancholy that frequently came upon him.

Whatsoever he did, he did it with all his might, as unto the Lord, and not unto men, exceedingly macerating his body with intense study and prayer, as well as with watching and fasting.

He was often so taken up with reading or writing, that he forgot to recite the canonical hours. He would then, to satisfy his conscience, shut himself up in his chamber, and neither eat nor drink till he had said all those prayers; so that, sometimes, he had not an hour's sleep in a night for four weeks together, till his senses were almost gone.

He was generally pensive and sad, (though this was not his natural temper) in the midst of which he had strong consolations from God. Staupitius likewise administered much comfort to him, when he told him his own horrible and grievous temptations. "You know not (said he) how useful and necessary these temptations are. God does not thus exercise you without cause: he will make you an instrument of great things."

He was strengthened yet more by the discourse of an old Augustine monk, concerning the certainty we may have that our sins are forgiven. This he inferred even from that article of our Creed, *I believe the forgiveness of sins:* strongly insisting, that these very words implied, not barely a belief that some men's sins are forgiven, but that each man is personally to believe for himself, "God, through Christ, has forgiven *my* sins."

God likewise gave him much comfort in his temptations, by that saying of Bernard, "It is necessary to believe first of all, that you cannot have forgiveness but by the mere mercy of God; and next, to believe, that through his mercy *thy* sins are forgiven *thee*." This is the witness which the Holy Spirit bears in thy heart, "*Thy* sins are forgiven *thee*." And thus it is, that, according to the apostle, a man is justified freely through faith.

As God is wonderful in all his ways, so it was a singular instance of his providence, that Frederick III. elector of Saxony, founded a new university at Wittenberg, in October, 1502, and employed Staupitius to procure men of piety and learning, from all parts, to settle there. He soon cast his eyes upon Martin Luther, whose religion and learning he was well apprised of, as being vicar-general of all the convents of Augustine monks.

It was in the year 1508, that he ordered Luther, being then twenty-six years of age, to remove to Wittenberg. He was here much employed in public disputations; wherein he soon signalized himself, as by his ready and succinct method of expressing himself, so by the quickness and strength of his understanding.

His manner of disputing was widely different from that which then obtained in most universities. For he judged and spoke of nothing but according to the dictates of his conscience, and from an experimental knowledge of all he said. And from the very beginning, he grounded all his doctrines, not on the schoolmen, but on the word of God. Whence it was, that his positions

always contained something far above the received doctrines of the age. For although it was as yet blended with much darkness, yet had he great light into many practical truths: which gave occasion to that judgment which the great Mallerstadius so early formed concerning him, "That monk will confound all the doctors, and reform the whole church, for he minds only the prophets and apostles, and builds on the word of Jesus Christ; a foundation which neither the philosophers, nor sophists, nor scotists, nor thomists, are able to overthrow."

Indeed the love of the Scriptures (whatever else he was constrained to teach) increased in him more and more: which was, in a great measure, owing to those pangs of conscience, that still pursued him with little intermission, and which he could no otherwise assuage, than by close application to the word of God.—"How willingly (says he, writing to a friend about this time,) would I change all my philosophical studies for that of divinity! The divinity I mean, which searches the kernel of religion, which pierces the marrow, and discerns the thoughts and intents of the heart."

Having now, under the secret leadings of God, and the bitter exercises of repentance, experimentally learned the nature of sin, the utter impotence of man, and the absolute necessity of grace; and being confirmed herein by the word of God, as well as by some of the ancient fathers, he contracted the strongest aversion to those principles and doctrines of the schoolmen, which contradict these fundamental truths. Nor had he any desire to conceal that aversion; supposing, in the simplicity of his heart, that the church still retained those essential truths, from which the schoolmen had deviated. And hence he still held the church, and all the governors thereof, in the highest reverence and esteem.

About this time, both his brethren and the provincial had such an opinion of the sanctity of his manners, and of his learning and understanding, that they deputed him to Rome, in order to put an end to those disputes, which had disturbed the whole order, and set one part of them at variance with the other. This was in the year 1510. He transacted the affair with such diligence and success, as to gain the applause, not only of Staupitius, but of the whole society.

In this journey, he beheld the pope and his prelates, and all the ceremonies of the church, with the utmost reverence. He attended all the churches and chapels, and firmly believed all the legends he heard there. Yet, at the same time, he could not but observe the lives of the clergy, at which he was extremely offended. And this offence sunk deeper into his heart, when, as he was saying mass with some other Italian priests, one at the

next altar had recited seven masses before he had finished one. He was likewise exceedingly shocked at finding so many Atheists in Italy, among the laity, as well as clergy: insomuch that many looked on it as a disgrace, to be thought to believe the resurrection of the death.

By all this it appears, that Luther's coming to Rome, was by the peculiar providence of God, that he might see that desolation with his own eyes, of which he was afterwards to bear witness. And this he acknowledged himself often, saying, "He would not but have seen Rome for a thousand florins." God preserved him untainted in the midst of the abominations which he saw, both by keeping his conscience always awake and tender, by a fit of sickness he had at Bononia, and by sharp temptations concerning the forgiveness of his sins, out of all which he was afterwards delivered.

In the year 1512, he was ordered by the provincial to take his doctor's degree. He endeavoured to excuse himself on account of his weak and sickly habit of body. But being peremptorily required to obey, he complied, and was created doctor of divinity. At his inauguration he took, as usual, a solemn oath, to teach the holy Scriptures. And many times afterwards, when he was in strong agony of spirit, and tempted not to write or preach any more, he was confirmed by that thought, "I have sworn unto the Lord, and I cannot go back from it."

Being now called more immediately than before, to study and expound the holy Scriptures, he gave himself wholly up thereto, and to the study of the Greek and Hebrew tongues. And hence it was, that he came to have so high an esteem for Erasmus, and several other learned men: in particular, for Philip Melancthon, who was a kind of master to him in acquiring those languages. Indeed in the beginning of this century, God revived in many souls, together with a thirst after all useful learning, a great love for those tongues, whereby a way was opened for the more swift and effectual revival of the gospel.

It being now a branch of his office to read public lectures in divinity, he set upon the work with the utmost pleasure. He read, disputed, and preached with all diligence. He expounded the Psalms, and the Epistle to the Romans, and the Galatians. He began to enlarge on that question, Whether we are not to learn, How to believe aright, to live holy, and to die happy, from the book of God, rather than from the books of pagan philosophers? of Aristotle in particular, whose philosophy had then engrossed all pulpits, as well as schools; having learned, by painful experience, how weak and unavailing all the helps of human reason are, and how effectual the pure word of God, for the relief of a wounded spirit.

From this time he began to look deeper into the epistle to the Romans, and to consider what St. Paul means there by, The righteousness of God. And he no sooner perceived that it is not by works, but through faith in the atonement made by Jesus Christ, that God justifies a sinner, than "he felt himself as it were in paradise, and changed into a new creature." The whole Scripture appeared with another face. His views of divinity were quite altered; and on this foundation he built all his doctrines for the time to come. And though he still retained many of his former erroneous opinions, concerning less essential points; yet as he had himself tasted the marrow of Christianity, so he was continually recommending it to others.

In the year 1516, Staupitius being sent by the elector into the Netherlands, he was appointed vicar of all the Augustine convents in those provinces, during his absence. In his visitation of them, he had not only an opportunity of instilling into many the great truths of the gospel, but likewise of narrowly observing the grievous vices of all kinds, which reigned in those that were called religious houses. His chief care in this visitation was, to press them all to study the holy Scriptures; and to lead lives agreeable thereto, as well as to the solemn vows that were upon their souls.—In the same year he disputed publickly against the doctrine of the schoolmen, concerning the natural free-will of men, and laboured to set in a true and clear light, what he had learned herein from his own experience. It is not, therefore, strange, that from this time many began to look upon him as an heretic, and others, who had a relish for better things, to esteem him very highly in love.

In the year 1517, when the word *Pœnitentia* (penance, penitence, or repentance,) was occasionally mentioned in conversation, Staupitius observed, that "there is no true penance or repentance, but that which arises from the love of God." This conversation sunk deep into Luther's heart, and "I soon (says he) saw the error of those who make penance, or repentance, little more than a few trifling satisfactions, and confessions to a priest: being carried away with the sound of the word, *doing penance*, which signifies rather an action than any change of affection, and does in no wise express the least part of the Greek word μετανοια.

"While my thoughts were warmly engaged on this, there began (continues he) to sound all around us, new trumpets of pardons and indulgences, in a manner unheard before. And the most impious, false, and heretical things, were taught with so great authority, that whoever dared to mutter against them, was straight devoted to the flames, and to everlasting damnation."

And thus it was that he was drawn unawares into a controversy, from which he could never draw back.

The case was thus: John Tezel, a Dominican monk, a man famous for all manner of vice, had been employed several years in selling indulgences up and down Germany. He came this year on the same business as before; but more confidently than ever, having a commission to sell them, under the great seal of Albert, archbishop of Mentz. The form of indulgence, sold to any one who would pay the price, ran in these words:

"The Lord Jesus Christ absolve thee, through the merits of his most holy passion: and by his authority, and that of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and our most holy Pope—I absolve thee first, from all ecclesiastical censures; then from all the sins and offences thou hast committed, how enormous soever. I remit to thee, by this plenary indulgence, all the punishment in purgatory due for these crimes. And I restore thee to the innocence and purity in which thou wast when thou wast baptized: so that the gates of punishment shall be shut to thee when thou diest, and the gates of paradise open. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"John Tezel wrote this with his own hand."

Abundance of people flocking to father Tezel, to purchase these indulgences, Luther began modestly to teach the people of Wirtemberg, "That they might employ both their money and time better." He did not then know, for whom that money was designed. But not long after, the archbishop published an order, requiring the persons intrusted, to press the people with all their might, to buy those indulgences. It was then known, that he had hired Tezel to undertake the work; and that the pope had authorized him to do so, on condition that half the money should be sent to Rome, toward the building of St. Peter's church. The rest was for the archbishop, to pay for his cardinal's cloke, for which thirty thousand pieces of gold were due to the holy see.

Luther had soon a nearer occasion given him to oppose this scandalous traffic. Several, whose confessor he was, acknowledged they had committed the most heinous crimes; but yet refused the penances he enjoined, because they had indulgences. Luther, not accepting their plea, denied them absolution. Of this they bitterly complained to Tezel; who thereupon began furiously to inveigh in his sermons against those who undervalued the rights of the holy see, and to threaten them with the rigours of the inquisition, and with the punishment due to obstinate heretics.

Luther was much moved at this, and not only preached more

freely on this head than before, but also published a sermon on indulgences; towards the close of which he observes, "That they are grounded neither on evangelical precept nor counsel, but are only suffered for the sake of lazy and slothful Christians: that it cannot be proved that souls are thereby delivered out of purgatory; that whoever teaches otherwise is a seducer, and carries his soul in his purse, and has more concern for the getting of money, than for the saving of souls."

Tezel was above measure exasperated at this sermon; against which he published a tract in German, which Luther presently answered; adding in the close, "At length, after he is tired with wresting the Scripture, he brandishes all his darts at me, calling me heretic, schismatic, and so on. To this I answer, God be merciful both to me and thee. Amen."

In the mean time were published those famous theses, ninety-five in number, which Luther affixed to the gates of All-Saints church in Wirtemberg, on the 31st day of October. These contained the same doctrines with his sermon; only proposed in a different form, as questions to be examined by disputation, if any would offer themselves to dispute with the proposer. He subjoined to them a protestation, "That he would neither maintain nor believe any thing but what was grounded on Scripture, and on the fathers, canons, and decrees, received in the Holy Roman church. He submits himself to the judgment of all his superiors; claiming to himself only that privilege of every Christian, either to receive or refute the opinions of any canonists or schoolmen, if they are not supported by holy writ."

None appeared to dispute on these theses. But Tezel fixed up at Frankfort upon the Oder, a hundred and six, and soon after, fifty theses, "by which," says he, "It will be seen at the first glance, who is to be accounted a heretic, a schismatic, stubborn, obstinate, erroneous, and seditious. To the glory of God, and the honour of the holy apostolic see." Luther was not so confident as this; yet by the duty of his office, as well as by the clamours of his adversaries, he was constrained to go on, though studiously endeavouring to clear the pope from the scandal of those vile practices, (as never imagining, that all these things were done, not only with his knowledge, but by his order,) and doing all things with the utmost circumspection, and modesty towards his superiors.

The same evening that he set up his theses, he writ to the archbishop. His letter begins with these words, "Forgive me, most reverend father in Christ, most illustrious prince, that I, the dregs of mankind, have so much rashness, as to dare think of writing to your sublime dignity. The Lord Jesus is my witness, that from a consciousness of my own littleness and baseness,

I have long delayed what I am now emboldened to perform, moved chiefly by the duty which I owe to you, as my most reverend father in Christ." He proceeds, "There are indulgences carried about, as by your most illustrious authority, the unhappy purchasers of which believe, that they are sure of salvation: likewise, that souls immediately fly out of purgatory, as soon as they have cast their money into the chest; that hereby every crime, of every kind, is forgiven, even though a man had ravished, (if it could be,) the mother of God: and that whoever has such an indulgence, is instantly free from all punishment and all guilt.—O blessed God! are the souls committed to your charge, most holy father, thus trained up to destruction! Is not then the heavy account increasing daily, which you are to give for every one of them!—Therefore I could be no longer silent. —But what can I do, most illustrious prince? Only beseech you, for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, utterly to take away this occasion of offence, lest some one should at length arise, and confute the tract recommending those indulgences, to the disgrace of your most illustrious highness. I entreat your highness to receive these faithful offices, of him who is most humbly devoted to you; seeing I also am a part of your flock. Most reverend father, the Lord Jesus preserve you for ever!"

These letters Luther sent to the archbishop with his theses. But he never received any answer.

In the year 1518, he wrote another equally submissive letter to the bishop of Brandenburg, his diocesan, who had shewn him much favour on other occasions. In this he gives him an account of all the steps he had taken, and concludes in these words, "If the work be not God's, let it not be mine, yea, let it come to nothing. It was my duty to seek nothing else but this, that I might lead no man into error. Let him alone have the glory to whom glory belongs, who is blessed for ever. Amen." The bishop in his answer persuaded Luther "to desist from his undertaking, telling him he touched the power of the church, and would create much trouble to himself."

In the mean time his theses were received with so great applause, that in a few days they run through all Germany. For indulgences were now a common nuisance, every where complained of. But especially those which were sold by Tezel in so shameful a manner. And yet there was no one who had the courage to speak, being awed by the terror of the papal thunder.

What state of mind Luther himself was in at that time, we may learn from his own words, in the preface prefixed to an edition of these theses, which he published some years after.— "These (says he) are the theses which I opposed, at my first setting out, to the doctrine of indulgences. I publish them

now, that the success which afterwards followed may be ascribed, not to me, but to God alone. For by these my exceeding great weakness appears; and with fearfulness I began that business. I fell upon it alone and unawares, and being not able to retreat; yet I not only yielded much to the pope in many and weighty points, but, in very truth, made a god of him. For what was I but a poor despicable monk, more like a carcass than a man!—And how great was the majesty of the pope, insomuch that his nod was dreaded even by the kings of the earth! In how great distress my soul was, both that and the following year, what sinkings of spirit, yea, well nigh despair, I was continually struggling with, they can by no means judge, who now set upon the pope with such boldness and self-sufficiency. But I, who encountered the whole storm alone, was not so bold and sure of my cause. I was then ignorant of many things, which by the grace of God I now know. Only I was desirous to learn: and not finding satisfaction in the books of canonists, and school divines, I wanted to consult and argue those points with living men, and, above all, to hear the church. In the church only I expected the gifts of the Spirit, (meaning thereby, the pope, cardinals, bishops, and clergy,) and that with such earnestness, that I was hardly in my senses, and scarcely knew whether I was asleep or awake. And when I had mastered all the objections brought from Scripture, still I could not, for a long season, get over that greatest objection of all,—that I ought to obey the church."

On Trinity Sunday, Luther wrote to pope Leo X. sending him his theses at the same time. He concludes his letter in these words: "I offer myself prostrate at your feet, most holy father, with all that I have or am. Bid me live or die; call, recall; approve, or reject, as you see good. I shall acknowledge your voice as the voice of Christ, presiding and speaking in you. If I have deserved death, I refuse not to die. The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof."

In the mean time, while he was expecting all good things from the pope, divers adversaries began to write against him. The first was John Eccius, vice-chancellor of the university of Ingolstadt. The next was Sylvester Prierias, a Dominican friar, master of the palace at Rome; who so extolled the authority of the pope and the church, that Luther even then did not scruple to declare, "If this be taught at Rome, with the knowledge of the pope and cardinals, (which I hope it is not,) I freely pronounce, that he is the true Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and reigning in that purple Babylon, and that the court of Rome is the synagogue of Satan." The third who entered the lists was James Hockstrate, a Dominican of Louvain, who

exhorted the pope to use no other remedy against such an heretic, but fire and sword.

From this time his faith and courage increased daily. And hence, although many endeavoured to dissuade him, yet he would go to the general convention of the Augustine monks, which was this year held at Heidelburg, being strongly recommended by the elector of Saxony to the prince palatine. In his journey he waited on the bishop of Wurtzburg, who received him with great humanity, as being a favourer of his doctrine. But he lived only till the next year. At Heidelburg, he publickly disputed on twenty-eight theological, and twelve philosophical, paradoxes: in which he treated of free-will since the fall, of grace, of faith, of justification, and of good works. There was a vast concourse of hearers, not only of the students, but of the citizens and courtiers also. He was opposed by five doctors of divinity. His great sweetness and perspicuity in answering, and readiness in solving all their objections, caused an universal admiration. Among his hearers were Theobald Billicanus, John Brent, and Martin Bucer. The two former were thoroughly convinced of the truth, and from that time preached it with all diligence. Bucer came to his house, asked many questions, and at length was fully satisfied.

He now published his sermon on the sacrament of penance, by which we may perceive how he was led from one point to another. He teaches in this, "That the remission of punishment must be distinguished from remission of sin: that if indulgences avail any thing, it pertains to the former; but the latter is to be sought from God only: that a man may be saved without indulgences, but not without a peaceful conscience, and a soul rejoicing in God, which can only arise from the remission of his sin. That this is sought in vain from indulgences, fasting, or ever so many good works; all who seek it from these, mistaking here, that they would do good works before their sins are forgiven: whereas their sins must first be forgiven, before they can do any good works; seeing their works do not expel sin, but the expelling of sin makes their works good.—That unbelief is the greatest of all sins, in that it makes God a liar: that we ought not (as some men falsely teach) to be uncertain touching our pardon, and doubtful whether our sins are forgiven or not, and whether we are sufficiently contrite; that we ought rather to believe, that all our contrition, how great soever, is utterly insufficient, and that for this very cause we have no other refuge than the free grace of God in Christ Jesus.—That we ought with all our might to repent, to mourn, to confess our sins, and to do all good works; but still to remember, faith is the principal good whence all truly good works must spring, being wrought purely

for the glory of God, and the good of our neighbour, not as an atonement for the least sin. That all this properly belongs to those who are convinced of sin; not to the stubborn or careless sinner, who must first be terrified and awakened by denouncing the just and dreadful judgments of God."

There were now great commotions concerning these doctrines both in Italy and Germany. And the emperor Maximilian I. having called a diet at Augsburg, wrote a letter to pope Leo X. dated the 5th of August, wherein he desired these things might be determined as soon as possible, and promised his own assistance therein. At Rome, all things went ill on Luther's side. Cardinal Raphael had before written to the elector, pressing him not to defend him any longer. To whom the elector replied, "That he did not take upon him to defend the writings or sermons of Martin Luther. But that yet he could not condemn him, seeing Luther was always ready to appear before any fair and competent judges, either to defend his own doctrine, or to learn any better, which should be taught him out of the holy scriptures: that he was grieved any errors should ever creep into the holy Catholic faith, and prayed that God would preserve him from the impiety of espousing or defending them."

Cardinal Cajetan was at the diet, sent by the pope as legate *a latere*. To him the pope directed an apostolical brief, so called, on the 23d of August, commanding him to require Luther (already pronounced an heretic by Jerom, bishop of Asculum, whom he had commissioned to examine the cause,) to appear before himself at Rome; and to call in the assistance, both of the emperor and of the other princes of Germany, with all the communities, universities, and potentates, whether ecclesiastical or secular. That if Luther came to him of his own accord, to ask pardon, and shewed signs of true repentance, he might receive him to favour; but if not, he should, by a publick edict, warn all the Christians in all parts of Germany to look upon him as an excommunicated, anathematized, accursed heretic, and to seize and deliver him into his hands. That whosoever gave him any help, encouragement, or advice, publickly or privately, directly or indirectly, their cities, towns, and countries, should be laid under an interdict, the clergy deprived of their benefices, the laity outlawed, debarred from Christian burial, and farther punished as the cause should require.

The pope sent a brief to the elector the same day, exhorting him to take care, that "Luther, that son of wickedness, might be delivered up to the judgment of the apostolic see; whom he knew from the relation of most religious and learned men, particularly his beloved son, master of the palace, to be an asserter and publick preacher of impious and heretical doctrines." Luther plainly

shewed in a little tract, soon after published, how unjust this usage was. For he was not cited by the bishop of Asculum, till the 7th of August. And in that citation he was allowed sixty days wherein to appear and make his defence: whereas there were only sixteen days between this and the 23d of August, the day on which the brief was dated.

However, by the intercession of his friends, instead of going to Rome, he was ordered to appear before cardinal Cajetan, at Augsburg. He went thither on foot. At Nuremberg, one observing his cowl, which was exceedingly worn and thread-bare, constrained him to borrow another, having no money to buy, no not a single kruetzer, (a coin, about an half-penny in value.) When he came to the town, a lodging was provided for him among the Augustine monks. The elector had recommended it to the senate of the town, to see that he should receive no hurt. And this they faithfully performed. He likewise found many friends, both among the clergy and laity: yea, and many there were who had his safety much at heart, even among the emperor's counsellors.

As soon as he came into the town, several of the Italians came to see him, and advised him, in many smooth words, 'To have a good opinion of the cardinal, and to go to him without any suspicion.' They exhorted him to comply with his desire, telling him, 'The whole affair might be concluded in three syllables, *Revoco*, (I recant.') But the senators charged him not to go, till he had a safe-conduct from the emperor himself. This being obtained, with the abbot in whose house he lodged, and three or four more of his brethren, he went to the cardinal, and (as the custom was) threw himself on his face before him. Being ordered to rise, he modestly said, 'That he was come to hear what was 'objected against him, being ready to obey if he should be 'shewn wherein he had erred, and wished to be better in-'structed.'

The cardinal answering him (in his Italian manner) with many mild and soft words, required three things: First, to recant what he had taught; then, to teach it no more; and, lastly, to abstain from teaching any thing which might disturb the peace of the church: withal promising, that he would deal tenderly with him, as a father with a son. He then offered to disprove what Luther had taught. But it was easy to be discerned, that he was not to be satisfied with any thing less than a full recantation of all.

The next day, those of the imperial senators being present, Luther, bringing with him a notary and witnesses, protested, that he was ready then and there, or at any other time and place, to give an accouut of whatever he had taught; and that if the legate did not think well of this, he was willing to answer in writing

any objections he should make, and to hear thereon the judgment and decision of the universities of Basil, Friburg, Louvain, and Paris. The cardinal answered, "This protestation was needless; for he would compose the thing in a fatherly and friendly manner."—Meantime he urged Luther to recant, not giving him time to make any answer, till one of his friends desired he might have leave to speak, and recite his answer without interruption. In the end he gained nothing more, than that he might bring his answer in writing. But when he did, the legate rejected it; strongly pressing him to recant: upon his refusing which, he said, "Go, and see me no more, unless you will comply."

Notwithstanding this, Luther wrote to the cardinal again, entreating him to proceed with the tenderness of a father, and declaring, that he would for the time to come say nothing about indulgences, provided the same rule might be observed by his adversaries as well as himself. He received no other answer than fair words. Upon which, by the advice of his friends, he composed, "An appeal from the pope misinformed, to the pope when he should be better informed." And this he procured to be affixed, two days after he left the town, to the cathedral church, in the presence of notaries and witnesses. And the 20th of October, very early in the morning, mounting a horse which his friends had procured, though without either boots, spurs, or breeches, he left Augsburg, and rode 48 miles that day.

From Augsburg he wrote to Philip Melancthon thus, "There is nothing new or strange here, only that the city is full of talk concerning me, and all men desire to see the Herostratus, who has thus set the church on fire. Do you go on, and play the man, in training up the youth in solid and useful knowledge. I am going, if it so please the Lord, to be offered up for you and them. I had rather perish, and lose even your conversation for ever, than retract any part of the truth I have taught.

"Italy lies in Egyptian darkness, darkness that may be felt. So ignorant are they all of Christ, and the things of Christ. Yet these are they who are lords of our faith and practice. Thus is the wrath of God fulfilled upon us, which says, *I will give them children for princes, and babes shall rule over them.*"

Being returned to Wirtemberg, he immediately resumed both his preaching and reading public lectures. But he was minded soon to remove to some other country, lest the elector should come into trouble on his account: till the elector sent him express orders not to remove from Wirtemberg. "I then determined, (said he,) by the advice of my friends, to appeal to the council which was shortly to meet: though still resigning my will to the will of God, and being resolved, that if I had a thousand lives,

I would lose them all, rather than retract the least point of the faith once delivered to the saints." By all which it appears, that God was still secretly carrying on the great work of reformation, and delivering his servants more and more under various trials, from all fearfulness, into the boldness of faith.

When Luther was gone, the cardinal wrote to the elector, relating what had passed, after his own manner, and concluding in these words: "Let your lordship know, that this so grievous and pestilent business, cannot be suffered long. For they will surely resume the cause, and prosecute it at Rome, when I have washed my hands of it, and have sent an account of these shifts and tricks to our most holy father." He added some things with his own hand, and this among the rest, "Let not your highness, for one insignificant monk, stain both the glory of your ancestors, and your own." The elector immediately sent this to one of his ministers, still at Augsburg, with orders to move the emperor, that Luther's cause might be examined in Germany, by more fair and impartial judges.

In the course of these trials Luther gained much strength, and became, as it were, a new man. He was more and more confirmed in all the truths of God, which he had learned aud taught. Those which he afterwards taught, are no otherwise to be considered than as conclusions built on the foundation laid before, as he was led on by various occasions, and as his mind was gradually enlightened with the knowledge of God.

In the beginning of the year 1519, the court of Rome spared no endeavours to stir up the elector against him. To this end the pope wrote to Pfeffinger, his minister, and sent his own chamberlain, Charles Militius: the sum of whose negociation was, 1. That the people were perverted from the truth, with regard to indulgences. 2. That this was done by Luther. 3. Though the occasion was given by Tezel, 4. and the archbishop of Mentz. 5. In which Tezel had gone too far. Thus he granted some points, in order to gain others; and, indeed, he used Tezel so roughly, that through grief and vexation he fell into an illness, which ended in his death. Luther himself conversed with Militius at Altenberg, and was received by him with great humanity. It was agreed between them, that Militius would undertake to give a fair account of all that had passed, to the pope; that all disputes should be stopped, and the cause referred to some learned bishop in Germany; and that he should deliver to Luther in writing, the articles which he thought ought to be retracted.

On the 9th of January the elector wrote to Militius, "That he did not at all concern himself with the merits of the cause, nor ever had done, as he had ordered to be signified to Dr. Luther

himself." Whence it appears, that although on the one hand, God so far made use of the elector, as not to suffer Luther to be destroyed, (and thus far he patronized him, particularly this year, when, upon the death of the emperor Maximilian, he was made vicar of the empire,) yet on the other, Luther could not trust in him alone, nor have any firm dependence upon him; so that he must many times utterly have fainted, had he not had a sure confidence in God.

On the 4th of July this year, began the celebrated disputation on free-will at Leipsig, between John Eccius and Andrew Carolostadius. It continued eight days. Eccius being a subtle and ready disputant, and having both the students and courtiers on his side, seemed to have much the better of the argument, and gained general applause. Yet, in the conclusion, he said, he was of the same mind with Carolostadius, and gave up many of the points in question. Luther, who came only to accompany his friend, without any thought of disputing, finding how much the truth suffered, and Eccius triumphed, consented to dispute with him himself the next week: in the course of which it was observed, that Eccius would not say one word on the head of indulgences; and that the primacy of the bishop of Rome, was now first brought into question. They spoke likewise of councils, which Luther plainly shewed might err, and had erred. In the close, Eccius acknowledged, "That, in most of those points, Luther and he were of the same judgment. Only in what related to the bishop of Rome he was constrained to dissent from him."

Peter Mosellanus, then professor of Greek at Leipsig, who was present at these disputations, describes him thus: "Martin Luther is of a middle stature, of a thin habit of body, exhausted both by cares and study; so that one who is near him may almost tell all his bones. His voice is clear and shrill. He has a wonderful knowledge of Scripture, having it all, as it were, at his fingers' ends. Nor does he ever want matter of discourse, having an immense treasure, both of thoughts and words. Perhaps he has not always so correct a judgment, or knowledge how to use them. In his life and manners he is courteous and easy, having nothing stoical, nothing supercilious. He is cheerful, and yet severe: at all times, and in all places, he has an air of satisfaction on his countenance. Yet, in reproving, he is somewhat more hasty, and more biting, than becomes the character of a divine." He adds, "The victory is claimed by both parties. Eccius triumphs, wherever he comes. Luther has less applause, both because wise and judicious men are scarce, and because he speaks modestly of himself. Yet, you would not believe how much men's spirits are softened towards him since he came to

this place. Even the archbishop of Triers, whom the pope has appointed to re-examine his cause, has no sort of ill-will towards him."

In these exercises he spent the year 1519, while the elector of Saxony was vicar of the empire; under whom it pleased God to give him a little rest, that he might gather strength against sharper trials, which were at hand. For Charles V. being now elected emperor, the Italians soon moved him to put a stop to Luther's heresy. Luther, on the other hand, besought him, in a letter written January 15, 1520, "That he would deign to receive not him, but the cause of truth, under the shadow of his wings; and to protect him, only till his cause was fairly heard, and it was examined, whether he was in the right or wrong; that he desired this one thing, that, whether the doctrine were true or false, it might not be condemned unheard." About this time, the bishop of Meissen published a decree, prohibiting Luther's sermon on the Lord's supper; because he had "wished therein, that a general council would order it to be administered to the people, as well as the priests, in both kinds." Luther presently answered this; and here began the controversy, concerning communicating in both kinds.

He wrote also to the pope, on Sept. 16, declaring to him at large the wickedness of his clergy; but still with the utmost respect for the pope himself, whom he addresses in these words: "In the mean time, you, Leo, sit as a lamb in the midst of wolves; like Daniel, you dwell in a den of lions; or with Ezekiel among scorpions. What can you, who are alone, oppose to these monsters? Add to you three or four cardinals of learning and piety. Yet, what are these among so many? You would all perish by poison, before you could resolve upon any effectual remedy."—But his adversaries were continually pushing him farther and farther, in his opposition to the papacy itself; till, on the 14th of July, a bull came out, declaring his doctrines to be heretical. He immediately published a short answer to this, together with an appeal to a general council. And when all his books, without distinction, were burnt in many places; to shew that he was now freed from all fear of the papal authority, he gathered all the books of papal decrees, and publickly burnt them without the walls of Wirtemberg. He now likewise fell straight on the pope himself, and openly declared him to be the Great Antichrist.

In the mean time, his enemies prevailed so far, that the emperor, by his letters of the 6th of March, commanded him to appear before the diet at Worms, within one and twenty days. He set out without delay. Many of his friends met him on the road, and earnestly advised him to turn back; seeing he could

not be insensible, that if he came to Worms, his life would be in the utmost danger. His reply to them was, "I am called thither: therefore I am resolved to enter Worms, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Yea, though I knew there were as many devils in my way as there are tiles on all the houses in the city." He came thither, April 16. The next day he was ordered to appear in the diet, at four in the afternoon; whither two of the emperor's retinue were sent to conduct him safe. They were obliged to bring him a private way, because of the multitude of people. And yet he could not be hid; many ran up into the balconies, and many pressed after, with such violence, that they could hardly be restrained, even by force, from coming with him into the court.

Here it was demanded of him, First, Whether he acknowledged all those books to be his, a catalogue of which was read to him? Secondly, Whether he would defend or retract them? He replied, "This being a point of the utmost concern, he desired time to consider what answer he should give."—Which was granted till the next day at the same hour. As he returned, first one, and then another, of the princes bade him "be bold, and play the man; and not fear those who could only kill the body, and after that had nothing more which they could do."—The next day he replied, 1. "That all those books were his, both written and published by him: 2. That he desired it might be observed they were of three kinds; some of them treating simply and plainly concerning faith and good works; so that his very adversaries confessed they were harmless, nay, useful for all Christians; that he could not retract any of these, without manifest impiety: that others were written against the papists, as having both by their doctrines and lives laid waste the Christian church; if, therefore, he should retract these, it would be strengthening their tyranny, and opening a wider door to all their corruptions than ever: that he had written a third sort of books, against private men, who defended the tyranny and doctrines of the pope. And in these (said he) I confess, I have used more sharpness than became either my religion or profession. And yet, neither can I retract these; because, were I to do this, that tyranny and impiety would reign, and rage more against the people of God than ever it did before." To what had been objected, concerning his causing disturbances and dissensions, he answers, "I suppose it is plain, from what I have already observed, that I have sufficiently weighed the parties and dissentions, which my doctrine has occasioned in the world: of which I was yesterday admonished. Truly, it is a most comfortable thing to me to see parties and dissensions, occasioned

by the word of God. This is, and must be, the consequence of it. For our Lord says, *I came not to send peace, but a sword.* And we are to consider, that our God is wonderful and terrible in his counsels, lest, peradventure, what he is now doing upon earth, if we set out with condemning the word of God, should turn to an intolerable flood of evils."

After this, the orator of the empire requiring him to give a plain and direct answer, he replied, 'Seeing then your most serene majesty, and your lordships, require a direct answer, I give it thus: Unless I am convinced, either by testimonies of Scripture, or by evident reason; (for I cannot build my faith either upon popes, or councils, alone, since these have often erred, and contradicted one another,) I am conquered by the Scriptures, to which I have referred, and my conscience is bound by the word of God; I neither can nor will retract any thing, seeing I may not act contrary to my censcience." He added these German words, "Hier stene ich; ich kan nicht anders: Gott helfe mir! Amen." That is, Here I stand: I can do no otherwise: God help me! Amen.

After they had considered his answer, the orator again began urging him to recant. Luther besought them, that he might not be constrained to do any thing contrary to his conscience; that he had answered directly, and had nothing more to say, than what he had said already; that, unless his adversaries would confute his errors, as they stiled them, by solid arguments drawn from Scripture, he could not escape out of the toils. As he withdrew, a great part of the Spaniards pursued him with scoffs and jeers, and a loud laughter.

The emperor afterwards having assembled the princes, electors, and other orders of the empire, wrote to them to this effect, "That since Luther would not depart one hair's breadth from his errors, it was now his duty to assist the holy see, and to banish him and all his followers out of the empire: yet that he would not violate the faith he had given him, but would take care that he should return safe to the place from which he came."

God gave Luther great constancy in these trials; even when he was strongly solicited by those who seemed to act from a real principle of friendship. Among these was the archbishop of Triers, who, with many other princes and nobles, exhorted and pressed him by all manner of motives, drawn rom conscience, interest, danger, the public good and his own, to yield at least in some things. Luther returned them his most humble thanks, for taking so much pains with so inconsiderable a person: but still he could not be removed from the truth of the gospel. He

was ready, he said, to lay down his life; but not to revoke the plain word of God. In this he must obey God, rather than man.

The archbishop laboured nevertheless, both by himself and others, to induce him simply and absolutely to submit his writings to the judgment of the states of the empire. He replied, "He would willingly do this, if they would ground their judgment on the Scriptures only: otherwise not; since God had said, *Trust not in princes, nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them.*"

In his last conference with him, the archbishop referred it to Luther himself, "What methods could now be taken?" He answered, "He could recommend no better method to his highness, than that of Gamaliel: If this counsel or work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." At length the official was ordered to give him notice, That seeing, after so many admonitions, he still refused to return to the unity of the church, it remained, that the emperor should execute his office: but that he might return from whence he came, within one and twenty days, under the safe-conduct which had been given him. He replied, "As it pleased the Lord, so it is done; blessed be the name of the Lord!" Adding, That he returned his best thanks to the emperor, and all the states, for so mild and patient a hearing: that he desired nothing but a reformation of faith and practice, according to the Scripture standard; that he was ready to suffer all things for their sakes; to go through honour or dishonour, life or death, reserving to himself nothing at all, but a liberty to confess and testify the word of God."

He left Worms on the 26th of April; and quickly after the emperor published his decree of banishment against him, drawn up by Alexander, the pope's legate: in which it is affirmed, "That his writings breathe nothing but matter of seditions, wars, discords, slaughters, rapines, and the downfal of the Christian faith." The preamble concludes with these words, "Not to recount, for brevity's sake, the other innumerable villanies of Luther, it is manifest, that this one, not man, but rather devil, clothed in a human shape and a friar's cowl, has gathered into one Lernæn lake, the damned and obsolete heresies of abundance of heretics; and has also invented many new ones, under pretence of preaching faith, which he therefore inculcates upon all, that he may undermine and destroy the true faith, and overturn the whole church, and root up all evangelical peace and charity."

With regard to this whole transaction at Worms, it has been justly observed, that it is an illustrious precedent, worthy to be

remembered and admired in all ages. On the one hand, we may well admire, that the emperor, the princes and nobles of the empire, should admit into their assembly, and so mildly and patiently hear, a poor monk, and one so solemnly condemned by the pope; and keep his safe-conduct inviolate, although so many were pressing them to despatch him at once, although at this time he had not one patron among them, except the elector of Saxony; nor did he dare openly to defend him, or to make Luther's cause his own. On the other hand, we cannot but wonder at Luther's presence of mind, his readiness in refuting his adversaries, and his invincible constancy in professing the truth, in the face of all those powerful adversaries.

In his return from Worms, he was seized on the road by a party of horsemen, and violently carried away to a castle, situated at a distance from all public roads. Here he wanted nothing, but was wholly concealed both from friends and enemies. It was afterwards known, that this was done by order of the elector of Saxony; who judged it would be impossible to save his life, unless he was hid, till the violence of the storm was overpast.

We have hitherto observed in Luther the manifest marks of that excellent treasure which God had laid up in his soul, under that multiplicity of great and various afflictions. But hereafter he will appear somewhat different, as the state of outward things was so much changed. Sometimes he, as it were, sunk in the waves; sometimes he rose, and appeared again such as he really was. Both in his writings and actions, sometimes his unaffected sincerity and genuine piety appear; sometimes he is so hurried away by his passions, that one would scarce know him to be the same person.

That we may form a judgment both of truth and love, concerning the transactions of the following years, it should be observed, that there were two things which Luther frequently bemoaned himself for, namely, proneness to anger, and too great an inclination to jest and satire in his writings. The latter may in some measure be excused, by the custom of the age in which he lived. But nevertheless, according to his wonted candor and simplicity, he always acknowledged it as a fault.

He remained in confinement nine months. During this time, he had great desires of dropping all controversy, and employing himself wholly in the quiet and peaceful study of the Holy Scriptures. Accordingly, he now closely applied to the translating the Psalms, and the books of the New Testament. Yet he was constrained to write some controversial tracts, and that with more plainness of speech than ever; casting utterly away all fear of man, and trusting in God alone. For when the em-

peror, as well as the pope, had openly declared against him, so that his life was in continual danger, he no longer regarded any man under heaven, but placed all his confidence in God.

The castle was also to him a school of the cross, in which his body was visited with pain and sickness, and his mind with many temptations of Satan, sometimes even visibly appearing. In the mean time, he now and then went privately to see his friends at Wirtemburg, and sometimes was permitted to take the air on horseback, attended by a trusty servant.

The temper he was now in may be easily discerned, from one or two of his letters to Melancthon: "Do not you pray, that this confinement may be for the glory of God? How to avoid it I knew not. Here I sit all the day long, contemplating the miserable state of the church, and the abominable reign of Antichrist; and detesting my own hardness of heart, that I am not all dissolved into tears." In another, he says, "As it was never my own will to preach, so I have great peace now I am excluded from it. And yet for the glory of God, and the confirming myself and my brethren, I had rather broil upon burning coals, than thus to dream away my time alone, and scarce half alive. But who knows what end Christ may have in this? We have often talked of faith: now let us make the trial of it. If I perish, the gospel will not perish: in which you succeed, as Elisha to Elijah. And may the Lord Jesus give you a double portion of his spirit. I am ready to go wheresoever he pleases, whether to you, or elsewhere. I know nothing at all of my return. You know in whose power it lies."

To another he writes, "If I am called to preach at another place, it is the same thing, since Christ is every where. But I do not desire either the pulpit or the chair: nor will I use either, unless I am strongly called. I know he is not of God, who is forward to teach. Hitherto I have always shunned it: and I always shall. Let none imagine, that my mind is changed."

In his absence many Romish abuses were abolished at Wirtemburg. This emboldened some to go further still, who were for abolishing all at once. The chief of these was Carolostadius. But these doing all things with heat and fierceness, and upon pretence of being led by the Spirit, quite neglecting the written word, great dissensions arose; to put an end to which, Luther was earnestly pressed to come to Wirtemburg.

Being an outlawed and excommunicated person, he could not go without manifest hazard of his life. Nevertheless, he determined to do it in God's name, leaving the event to him. He was grieved that the ancient calumny of his adversaries should now be confirmed by these disturbances, as if his doctrine had a natural tendency to create tumults and confusion. And it

gave him much concern, that the Scripture, which he had with so much labour and danger dragged out of obscurity, should again be despised, and laid aside, by men who pretended to be taught of God.

But that it might appear he put not his trust in man, he first wrote to the elector in these terms: "I write to your highness, that you may know I go to Wirtemburg under a far more powerful protection than yours. I desire not you to protect me. God, without the help of man, will take care of his own cause. Because your highness is weak in faith, I cannot have you for my defender. And whereas you would know, 'What you should do, and say you have not done enough;' I say, you have nothing to do, and that you have already done too much. God will not suffer that either your highness or I should defend his cause by force. If you believe this, you will be safe. If you do not believe, I do, and leave you to the pain of your unbelief."

Yet he was exceedingly cautious in judging even of those who were the authors of these commotions. Accordingly he warns Philip Melancthon, not to pass a hasty judgment, but to try the spirits, whether they were of God. But he feared the revelations they spoke of were not from God, "because (said he) I have always observed, that God first visits those souls with deep trials and temptations, to whom he manifests himself in a more especial manner: whereas those persons have had no inward conflicts at all, but have talked of all joy and peace from the beginning."

He came to Wirtemburg on the 7th of March, in the year 1522. The same day those disturbers partly left the city, partly were brought to a sound mind; so that all those commotions ceased at once, and peace and brotherly love were restored.

Meanwhile, the pope vehemently insisted upon the execution of the imperial edict against him. For which purpose Adrian VI. sent his nuncio with a severe brief to the states of the empire, assembled at Nuremberg. But notwithstanding this, they decreed, in the year 1523, both that the edict of Worms should be repealed, and that a council should be held in Germany as soon as possible.

Luther was now chiefly employed in perfecting and publishing his translation of the Bible. He first printed the Gospel of St. Matthew; next that of St. Mark, and then the Epistle to the Romans. The same year he finished his version of the New Testament, and went as far as Leviticus in the Old.

In the year 1524, April 18, the emperor published a fresh edict against Luther and his doctrine. This Luther printed, together with the edict of Worms, with a preface, shewing that they contradicted each other. On the 24th of October, he laid

aside his monastic habit, and took one fit for a preacher of the gospel.

The next year broke out that unhappy controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, with Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. And about the same time was the sedition of the rustics in Suabia, and several other countries. At first Luther wrote mildly to those rioters; but when they persisted in their mutiny and rebellion, he exhorted the magistrates of those parts not to bear the sword in vain, and wrote to Antwerp, and several other places, warning all against those impostors.

This year he performed his first ordination at Wirtemburg; and first administered the Lord's Supper in the vulgar tongue. On the 13th of June, being forty-two years of age, he was espoused to Catherine a Bora, a maid of a noble family, formerly a nun, and on the 27th the marriage was celebrated. Thus he confirmed by his own example what he had so often taught, that marriage is honourable in all men. Yet the year before he appeared to have no thought of this. For writing to a friend, he says, "As to what Argula says of my marrying, thank him in my name, and tell him, I am in the hand of God, whose heart he may change at any hour or moment. Yet in the mind in which I have been hitherto, and am now, I shall not take a wife; not that I am a stock or a stone, but my mind is averse to marriage, as I expect death every day. I do not set God a time, nor trust in my own heart. But I hope I shall not stay here long."

In this year began his controversy with Erasmus, concerning free-will. The next, he wrote a submissive letter to king Henry VIII. asking pardon for the book he had published against him. But king Henry knew not how to pardon.

In the year 1527, he was under heavy temptations both of soul and body. These often drew from him deep complaints: "I was unworthy (said he) to pour out my blood for Christ, as many of my brethen have done. But this honour was denied even to the beloved disciple; although he wrote a much worse book against the papacy, than I was ever able to write." And when his strength failed, he cried out, "O Lord, thou knowest how willingly I would have shed my blood for thy word. But perhaps I am not worthy. Thy will be done. If it is thy will, I die: only let me glorify thy name by death or by life. If it were possible, I should even wish to live still, for thy elect's sake. But if the hour is come, thou art the Lord of life and death."

About the same time he wrote to a friend thus: "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him. The pope and the emperor, princes, bishops, and the whole

world, hate and persecute me. But this is not enough, unless my brethren also torment me; while my sins, and the devil, and his angels, incessantly rage against me. And what is it that can comfort me, if Christ also forsake me, for whose sake I am hated of all? But he will not cast off for ever the chief of sinners: for I know I am the vilest of all mankind. Therefore let me not be impatient under his rod. Blessed be his holy, acceptable, perfect will!"

The plague being at Wirtemburg this year, the university was transferred to Jena. But Luther would not remove, not even when some in his house had taken the infection: yet he blamed not those who did remove, unless it implied the neglect of some office or trust, either relating to the church, or the city, or state, or their own family. In the mean time, to the students who remained, he expounded the Epistles of St. John. Immediately after, he set on foot an ecclesiastical visitation throughout the electorate; which was then begun by the command of the elector, and finished the next year.

He begins his instructions to the visitors in this manner, "I observe this defect in our doctrine, that some, although they preach of the faith whereby we must be justified, yet do not sufficiently shew how we are to obtain faith. And almost all omit one part of the Christian doctrine, without which no man can understand what faith is. For Christ, Luke xxiv. commands to preach repentance and remission of sins. But many now preach only of the remission of sins, saying nothing, or however, but little, of repentance; whereas, notwithstanding, without repentance there can be no remission of sins. Nor can remission of sins be understood without repentance. But if remission of sins be taught without repentance, the consequence will be, that the people will believe that they may obtain remission of sins without repentance and contrition, and thereby will be led into carnal security; which error is worse than all that have been hitherto; and it is altogether to be feared that, as Christ saith, the last state of these men will be worse than the first."

In the year 1528, the cities of Brunswick and Hamburg embraced the doctrine of Luther, reformed according to his plan, and received ministers from him. The citizens of Nuremberg also began to think favourably of him, as did the marquis of Brandenburg and some others.

About this time the Antinomian doctrine appeared, which was soon attended with dreadful consequences. This Luther strenuously opposed: "Let us explode (says he) the Antinomians, who reject all preaching of the law, and would bring men to repent by preaching the gospel. This indeed is true, that men ought to be comforted. But what men? Those who faint with

hunger and thirst, those who groan and cry unto the Lord, and are now on the borders of despair. Unto these the gospel is to be preached."

Of the same he says in another place, "They preach well of grace and remission of sins; but they avoid and shun the doctrine of sanctification; lest men, as they say, should be brought into fear, or robbed of their comforts. Whereas they ought to say, Thou canst not be a Christian, if thou art a whoremonger, a drunkard, proud, covetous: they say, If thou art such, only believe in Christ, and thou needest not fear the law, for Christ has fulfilled it all."

The year 1529 was memorable for the diet at Spires, wherein the name of *Protestants* arose. For the Romanists endeavouring to procure a decree, That it should not be lawful for any of the states of the empire to make any change in their religion; this was *protested* against by the elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburgh, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Luneburgh, the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt, in which they were joined by the imperial cities of Argentoratum, Nuremburg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Leutling, Memmingen, Campodunum, Nordling, Hailbrun, and several others.

The same year, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, appointed a conference at Marpurg, on the Lord's supper. Here Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Martin Bucer, and many other eminent men, met together. The Swiss divines behaved with great tenderness and love, agreeing with Luther in every article, except only that of consubstantiation. And with regard to this, they allowed thus much, *That the true body and blood of Christ are spiritually eaten and drank in the Lord's supper.* They likewise earnestly desired, that, although they could not as yet exactly agree in all points, yet they should each acknowledge the others as their brethren. But this Luther said, he "could not allow; because all men would then believe, that he and his companions now approved of their doctrines: but that he would engage for a loving and friendly agreement, and the omission of all polemical writings." Both parties acquiesced in this, and all subscribed their names thereto.

About this time, the emperor having imprisoned the ambassadors who were sent to him from the protesting princes, there was a consultation among them concerning a league for their mutual defence against the papists. This Luther opposed with all his might:—"Rather let us die (said he, in his letter to the elector,) than that our gospel should be the occasion of shedding blood and other public evils. It is our part to suffer, and to be as sheep appointed for the slaughter. If we will be ranked among Christians, why do we look for better treatment, than

that which Christ and all his saints have had! We must needs bear the cross of Christ. The world will not bear, but rather lay it upon others. We Christians therefore are to bear it, lest it should be of none effect. Your highness has valiantly borne it hitherto. Nor has God ever forsaken you. Wherefore I earnestly and humbly beseech your highness, to be bold and intrepid in this danger. Our prayers will avail with God, more than all their threats, so we keep our hands pure from blood."

How little desire he had of worldly things, appears from another of his letters to the elector.

"I have long delayed returning your highness thanks for the clothes you sent me. I humbly beseech your highness not to credit those who say that I am poor. I have more, yea, I grieve that I have received more from your highness than I have need of. As a preacher of the gospel, I ought not to abound; neither do I desire it.—Hence I am afraid of your highness's bounty and favour. For I would not be in the number of those of whom Christ says, *Woe unto you, rich, for you have received your consolation.* I beg, therefore, that your highness's favour may cease: for you have already given me too much. May Christ restore it seven-fold. This is my ardent and continual prayer."

After the diet at Augsburg, the elector of Saxony wrote to Luther, whom he answered in the following manner: "Your highness inquires, whether you ought to obey the emperor, if he forbids the protestants to preach at Augsburg? I answer, the emperor is our master, and Augsburg is properly under his jurisdiction Therefore I think we ought to submit. May the merciful God continually guide us by his Holy Spirit!"

But all this time he had the strongest confidence, that God would maintain his own cause. Hence he wrote to a friend thus, June 30, 1530: "I learn from your's and Melancthon's letters, that you are both greatly afflicted, and he in particular. He has indeed a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. As if it were by the care and anxiety of our forefathers, that we were what we are now; and not rather by the providence of God alone, who will be God after us, as he was before, and is at this day! For he will not die with us, nor cease to be God. Eli thought that the kingdom of Israel was utterly fallen, when the Philistines had taken the ark. But what was the event? He fell himself. But the kingdom stood and flourished more than ever. Let not Philip torment himself about our posterity: let him no longer desire to be governor of the world. For my part, if I am dead, if I am murdered by the Papists, I shall still defend our posterity, and chastise those wild beasts, even more than I desire.

"If there is a God, we shall live not here only, but likewise

where he liveth. But if so, what are their threatenings to us? He that created me, will be a father to my child, and an husband to my widow, and a governor to the state, and a pastor to the flock, far better than I am; yea, a better when I am dead, than now I am alive, seeing I often hinder his work."

The same day he wrote to Melancthon thus:

"I am concerned at your vain cares. I have been in greater straits than I trust you will be. But in them all, I was always refreshed by the words of my brethren. And why do you despise our words, or rather the Holy Spirit that speaks by us? If it be false, that God has given his own Son for us, let the devil be in my place. But if it be true, what does our care and anxiety profit? He who gave his Son, will he not give us all things? And is Satan stronger than he?

"In private trials, you are stronger than me: in public I am stronger than you. You despise your own life, but are afraid for the cause of God. I have no fear with regard to this, seeing I know of a truth, that it is just and good: whereas I am a poor trembling sinner. All the threats and fierceness of the papists I value not a rush. If we fall, Christ must fall with us. And be it so: I had rather fall with Christ, than stand with Cæsar.

"O cast thy care upon the Lord. Does he not say, *Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world?* Such a saying is worth bringing from Rome, or Jerusalem, even upon one's knees. But they grow cheap, by our being accustomed to them. Such is the weakness of our faith. O let us pray with the apostles, *Lord, increase our faith.*"

He now spent his time at Coburg, in writing and praying, till his return to Wirtemberg: where being informed of the severe decree, which the emperor had published against the protestants, the next year he published notes upon it, and an exhortation to them, not to return evil for evil.

In the year 1532, he earnestly exhorted the protestant princes, not to reject the overtures of peace, which had before been treated of at Nuremburg. "If but any tolerable conditions of peace be offered, (said he) we must by no means think of war." And accordingly a peace was concluded, and published by the imperial edict.

John, elector of Saxony, died this year, and was succeeded by his son. This occasioned Luther to say, "Wisdom died with duke Frederic, and piety with duke John. Now nobility will reign, without either wisdom or piety. This God cannot but chastise, otherwise he would deny himself." And the event proved the truth of his prophecy.

In the year 1534, the German translation of the Bible was committed to the press. And now was held the grand consulta-

tion at Smalcand, among the protestant princes. About the same time, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, restored Ubric to his dukedom of Wirtemburg, while the anabaptists were raising those dreadful disturbances at Munster, and in many other places.

There was much talk the next year concerning a general council. And on this pretence the pope's legate came into Germany. He had a long and particular conference with Luther, who told him all that was in his heart, and that with great plainness of speech, so that at least he delivered his own soul. He was called to Smalcand, with Melancthon, and several other divines, by the protestant princes, in 1537, to consider what answer they should give to Paul III. who had offered to summon a council at Mantua.—Here he fell into so violent a fit of the stone, that his life was not expected. In the midst of his pain, he prayed in these words: "Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast delivered many; if it be for the glory of thy name, heal and deliver me; and, if not, close thou mine eyes in peace. O Lord Jesus Christ, what an honour is that, if a man die a martyr for thy word! Thou hast not vouchsafed this honour to me. But I thank thee, that I die in the knowledge of thy name. I will do what seemeth good unto the Lord, to whose grace I wholly give myself up." But being carried to the town of Tambach, God soon restored him to health.

May 25, 1539, on Whitsun-eve, Luther preached his first sermon in the chapel of the castle in Leipsig, in which the mass had been celebrated at Easter. Such a surprising change was owing to the death of duke George, his irreconcileable enemy; who leaving no children, was succeeded by his brother Henry.

In the year 1540, Philip Melancthon being on his journey to the meeting of the divines, which was appointed at Hagenau, being under great sorrow and concern, was seized with a very dangerous illness. The elector immediately sent Luther to him, who found him at the point of death. His eye-strings were broke, his speech entirely gone, his chaps were fallen, and he knew no one. Luther turned his face from him to the window, and poured out his heart in prayer. Then taking him by the hand, he said, "Be of good courage, Philip; thou shalt not die. God willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he should turn and live. He will not cast thee away, nor suffer thee to die in thy sins, and in thy sorrow. Therefore, give no place to the spirit of sadness, neither be thy own murderer. But put thy trust in God, who killeth and maketh alive." While he was speaking, Philip began breathing again, and grew better and better, till he was restored to perfect health.

From this time, Luther was continually employed in meditating upon death. The next year, being informed of the dangerous sickness of Frederick Myconius, superintendant of Saxegotha, he wrote to him in these terms: "I beseech the Lord Jesus, our life and salvation, that he would not suffer this to be added, That, while I survive, you should break through the vail into rest, and leave me without among devils, while my companions go before. May the Lord grant, that I may be sick in your stead, and lay down this useless, shattered, worn-out tabernacle. May he not suffer me to hear of your decease; but grant that I may be discharged first." His prayer was heard. Myconius immediately recovered, and survived Luther near a year.

The longer he lived, the more did his concern for peace and public tranquillity increase; insomuch, that when in the year 1542, a war broke out between John the elector, and Maurice, duke of Saxony, he vehemently exhorted them to desist, and with the desired success. And he frequently said, he was persuaded God had heard his prayers, and granted him his request, that there should not be any war in Germany, as long as he was alive.

This year, 1543, was a sorrowful year to Luther, by reason of the impiety reigning in all places, and the vile abuse of the gospel. Of these he writes to a friend thus: "The world is the world; it always was, and always will be; which knows nothing, and desires to know nothing, of Christ. Let them then grow worse and worse; a certain proof, that the glorious coming of the Lord is at hand. For not only those groanings of the saints which cannot be uttered, but also the world's unspeakable contempt of the word of God, shews that the world is given up, to hasten the day of its own perdition, and our salvation."

He was now more and more afflicted with bodily infirmities. He had violent pains in his head, (by which one of his eyes was much weakened,) his legs swelled, and he had sharp and frequent fits of the stone. At the same time he was so grieved and troubled in spirit, that he took his leave of Wirtemburg; being above measure displeased at the abominations of various kinds which he saw, but could not remove. Of these he bitterly complains in his letters to his wife, telling her, "He designed to see that place no more, this being the last year he had to live; that he would have her also sell what she had, and escape out of that Sodom as soon as possible." Concerning which Matthesius writes thus:—"Our pastor being now well stricken in years, and growing weaker and weaker every day, the devil brought one wickedness after another into his congregation. Many loose women came to Wirtemburg, and corrupted many of the youth

in the university. At this he was unspeakably grieved and vexed in soul. He wrote and preached against them with all his might, ahd finding he could not prevail, removed to Merseberg, resolving to return no more.'

When this was publickly known at Wirtemburg, it occasioned a general consternation. All the professors immediately sent a petition to the elector, beseeching him to interpose his authority, adding, "We will endeavour with all our might to amend whatever he disapproves of. But let him not, for the faults of a few, forsake the whole church and university, whom we cannot but acknowledge (like another Elijah) to be the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof." The elector hereupon sent a special messenger to him; upon which he returned to Wirtemburg.

On the 17th of November, 1545, he finished his Commentary on Genesis; in the close of which he speaks thus; "This is now my beloved Genesis. Our Lord God grant that others after me may do this better. I can do no more. I am weak. Pray for me, that he may give me a good and an happy hour."

In the year 1546, he was sent for to Isleb by the counts of Mansfield, in order to make up the differences which were arisen between them, with regard to their lands and inheritance. And although he was not accustomed to meddle with secular affairs, and was then fully employed in preaching, reading, and writing, yet he was prevailed upon to go, partly because it was their request, partly because he had a desire once more to see the place of his nativity.

Before he reached Isleb, he was seized in the coach with such a weakness, that it seemed as if he would have died in the instant. But he was brought to himself by rubbing him with hot cloths, together with the use of proper medicines. He preached at Isleb four times, and twice received the Lord's supper; and was once and again present at the interview between the contending brethren.

From the 16th of February, he began to be more violently afflicted with the heart-burn, and fits of swooning. Yet, in the intervals, he was able to walk about, and was frequently repeating select portions of Scripture. These he continually intermixed with prayer, particularly with that of the psalmist, *Into thy hands I commend my spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth.*

A little before he expired he said, "I perceive by the straitness of my breast, and this cold sweat, that I am to remain at Isleb." Soon after, he broke out, "My heavenly Father, thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I give thee thanks that thou hast revealed to me thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom I have believed, whom I have professed, whom I have loved, whom I have preached, whom the

bishop of Rome, and all the impious crowd, persecute, and put to an open shame. I beseech thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, receive my poor soul. My heavenly Father, although I leave this life, although I am now to lay down this body, yet I assuredly know, that I shall live with thee for ever, and that none shall pluck me out of thy hands." He added, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." And, "God is the Lord, of whom cometh our salvation: God is the Lord, by whom we escape death."—They then gave him a medicine; after which he said again, "I go now to give up my soul." He then swiftly repeated thrice over, *Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth.* He spoke no more, till being asked, "Do you die in the constant confession of the doctrine you have preached?" He answered with a loud voice, *Yes.* Then turning upon his right side, he slept about a quarter of an hour. Presently after, he fetched a deep sigh, and without any struggle or sign of pain, peacefully slept in the Lord.

Justus Jonas preached a funeral sermon over him, on the 19th of February, in St. Andrew's church. Michael Cœlius preached on the same occasion, the next morning. Feb. 21, his body was carried to Halle. Thence it was removed on the 22d to Wirtemburg, and interred in the church of the castle; Pomeranus preaching, and Philip Melancthon concluding the service with a funeral oration.

May God grant that all, who call themselves by his name, may not excuse their vices by his defects, but diligently follow his unbiassed integrity, his unshaken faith, his fervour in prayer, his immovable constancy, his conquest over the fear of man, his contentedness, and all the other graces, wherewith he was so highly favoured. Otherwise, how justly will they fall under that sharp reproof, which he gave to some who were called *Lutherans*, while they abused the gospel, under a cloke of liberty to all licentiousness:

"Hear, thou fool! This I require first, that my name be laid aside; neither let any man call himself a *Lutheran*, but a *Christian*. What is Luther? The doctrine is not mine, nor was I crucified for any man. Paul forbad any to be called after his name. Should I desire them to be called after mine? God forbid. Let us lay aside all these factious names, and be called Christians, because we have the doctrine of Christ. Let the papists be called by that name, seeing they choose to have the pope for their master. I am no man's master, neither will I be. I hold with the church the common doctrine of Christ. He alone is our master."

In different parts of this history we have heard of many troubles in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of divers abuses and great errors crept into the church of Rome. For what man has there been, within the space of several hundreds of years, eithervirtuously disposed or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the wicked actions and corrupt example of the see and bishop of Rome, from time to time, unto the coming of Luther? wherein this may also appear to all godly disposed men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsayers from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet notwithstanding never could prevail before the coming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly known unto God, yet so far as men may conjecture, it may have been thus: That whereas other men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice, of the bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most especially, with examples and manners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning; not with his doings, but with his doctrine; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the root; not seeking the man, but shaking his seat; yea, and charging him with plain heresy, as prejudicial, and resisting plainly against the blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of God's holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the Holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his blood; the pope proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of men's merits. Whereupon rose divers orders and religious sects among men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness, but few seeking the righteousness of him who is set up of God to be our righteousness, redemption, and justification.

Martin Luther, therefore, bringing back things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, which before were closed in darkness. Whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own righteousness, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus.

AN

Account of the Reformation in France,

FROM ROBINSON'S MEMOIRS OF THAT EVENT:

To which is added,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRUEL PERSECUTIONS, EXCITED BY THE PAPISTS.

GAUL, which is now called France, in the time of Jesus Christ, was a province of the Roman empire, and some of the apostles planted Christianity in it. In the first centuries, while Christianity continued a rational religion, it extended and supported itself without the help, and against the persecutions of the Roman emperors. Numbers were converted from paganism, several christian societies were formed, and many eminent men, having spent their lives in preaching and writing for the advancement of the gospel, sealed their doctrine with their blood.

In the fifth century, Clovis I. a Pagan king of France, fell in love with Clotilda, a christian princess of the house of Burgundy, who agreed to marry him only on condition of his becoming a christian, to which he consented, 491. The king, however, delayed the performance of this condition, till five years after his marriage, when, being engaged in a desperate battle, and having reason to fear the total defeat of his army, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and put up this prayer, *God of Queen Clotilda! grant me the victory, and I vow to be baptized, and thenceforth to worship no other God but thee!* He obtained the victory, and, at his return, was baptized at Rheims, Dec. 25, 496. His sister, and more than three thousand of his subjects, followed his example, and Christianity became the profest religion of France.

Conversion includes in it the cool exercise of reason, and whenever passion takes the place, and does the office of reason, conversion is nothing but a name. Baptism did not wash away the sins of Clovis; before it, he was vile, after it, he was infamous,

practising all kinds of treachery and cruelty. The court, the army, the common people, who were Pagan when the king was Pagan, and christian when he was christian, continued the same in their morals after their conversion as before. When the christian church, therefore, opened her doors, and delivered up her keys, to these new converts, she gained nothing in comparison of what she lost. She increased the number, the riches, the pomp, and the power of her family; but she resigned the exercise of reason, the sufficiency of Scripture, the purity of worship, the grand simplicity of innocence, truth, and virtue, and became a creature of the state. A virgin before—she became a prostitute now.

Such christians, in a long succession, converted christianity into something worse than Paganism. They elevated the christian church into a temporal kingdom, and they degraded temporal kingdoms into fiefs of the church. They founded dominion in grace, and they explained grace to be a love of dominion. And by these means, they completed that general apostasy, known by the name of *Popery*, which St. Paul had foretold, 1 Tim. iv. 1, and which rendered the Reformation of the sixteenth century essential to the interest of all mankind.

The state of religion at that time (1515) was truly deplorable. Ecclesiastical *government*, instead of that evangelical simplicity, and fraternal freedom, which Jesus Christ and his apostles had taught, was become a spiritual domination, under the form of a temporal empire. An innumerable multitude of dignities, titles, rights, honours, privileges, and pre-eminences, belonged to it, and were all dependant on a sovereign priest, who being an absolute monarch, required every thought to be in subjection to him. The chief ministers of religion were actually become temporal princes, and the high-priest, being absolute sovereign of the ecclesiastical state, had his court and his council, his ambassadors to negociate, and his armies to murder—his flock. The clergy had acquired immense wealth, and as their chief study was either to collect and to augment their revenues, or to prevent the alienation of their estates, they had constituted numberless spiritual corporations, with powers, rights, statutes, privileges, and officers. The functions of the ministry were generally neglected, and, of consequence, gross ignorance prevailed. All ranks of men were extremely depraved in their morals, and the pope's penitentiary had published the price of every crime, as it was rated in the tax-book of the Roman chancery. Marriages, which reason and Scripture allowed, the pope prohibited, and, for money, dispensed with those which both forbad. Church benefices were sold to children and to laymen, who then let them to under-tenants, none of whom performed

the duty for which the profits were paid: but all having obtained them by simony, spent their lives in fleecing the flock to repay themselves. The power of the pontiff was so great, that he assumed, and what was more astonishing, he was suffered to exercise, a supremacy over many kingdoms. When monarchs gratified his will, he put on a triple crown, ascended a throne, suffered them to call him *Holiness*, and to kiss his feet. When they disobliged him, he suspends all religious worship in their dominions; published false and abusive libels, called *bulls*, which operated as laws, to injure their persons; discharged their subjects from obedience, and gave their crowns to any who would usurp them. He claimed an infallibility of knowledge, and an omnipotence of strength; and he forbad the world to examine his claim. He was addressed by titles of blasphemy, and, though he owned no jurisdiction over himself, yet he affected to extend his authority over heaven and hell, as well as over a middle place called Purgatory, of all which places, he said, he kept the keys. This irregular church-polity was attended with quarrels, intrigues, schisms, and wars.

Religion itself was made to consist of the performance of numerous ceremonies, of pagan, jewish, and monkish extraction, all which might be performed without either faith in God, or love to mankind. The church ritual was an address, not to the reason, but to the senses of men; music stole the ear, and soothed the passions; statues, paintings, vestments, and various ornaments, beguiled the eye; while the pause, which was produced by that sudden attack which a multitude of objects made on the senses, on entering a spacious, decorated edifice, was enthusiastically taken for devotion. Blind obedience was first allowed by courtesy, and then established by law. Public worship was performed in an unknown tongue, and the sacrament was adored as the body and blood of Christ. The credit of the ceremonial produced in the people a notion that the performance of it was the practice of piety, and religion degenerated into gross superstition. Vice, uncontrolled by reason or Scripture, retained a pagan vigour, and committed the most horrid crimes; and superstition atoned for them, by building and endowing religious houses, and by bestowing donations on the church. Human merit was introduced, saints were invoked, and the perfections of God were distributed, by canonization, among the creatures of the pope.

The pillars, that *supported* this edifice, were immense riches, arising by imposts, from the sins of mankind; idle distinctions between supreme and subordinate adoration; senseless axioms, called the divinity of the schools; preachments of buffoonery, or blasphemy, or both; cruel casuistry, consisting of a body of dangerous and scandalous morality; false miracles, and mid-

night visions; spurious books and paltry relics; oaths, dungeons, inquisitions, and crusades. The whole was denominated, THE HOLY, CATHOLIC, AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH, and laid to the charge of Jesus Christ.

Loud complaints had been made of these excesses, for the last hundred and fifty years, to those whose business it was to reform; and, bad as they were, they had owned the necessity of reformation, and had repeatedly promised to reform. Several councils had been called for the purpose of reforming; but nothing had been done, nor could any thing be expected from assemblies of mercenary men, who were too deeply interested in darkness to vote for day. They were inflexible against every remonstrance, and as a Jesuit has since expressed it, *They would not extinguish one taper, though it were to convert all the Hugonots in France.*

The restorers of literature reasoned on these complaints; but they reasoned to the wind. The church champions were hard driven, they tried every art to support their cause: but as they could neither get rid of the attack by a polite duplicity, nor intimidate their sensible opponents by anathemas, as they would not determine the matter by Scripture, and as they could not defend themselves by any other method, as they were too obstinate to reform themselves, and too proud to be reformed by their inferiors, the plaintiffs at length laid aside thoughts of applying to them, and having found out *the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free*, went about reforming themselves. The reformers were neither popes, cardinals, nor bishops; but they were good men, who aimed to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind. This was the state of the church, when Francis I. ascended the throne, 1515.

Were we to enter into a minute examination of the reformation in France, we would own a particular interposition of Providence; but we would also take the liberty to observe, that a happy conjunction of jarring interests rendered the sixteenth century a fit æra for reformation. Events, that produced, protected, and prosecuted reformation, proceeded from open and hidden, great and little, good and bad, causes. The capacities and the tempers, the virtues and the vices, the views and the interests, the wives and the mistresses, of the princes of those times; the abilities and dispositions of the officers of each crown; the powers of government, and the persons who wrought them; the tempers and geniuses of the people; all these and many more, were springs of action, which, in their turns, directed the great events that were exhibited to public view. But our limits allow no inquiries of this kind.

The reformation, which began in Germany, had extended itself to Geneva, and thence into France. The French had a translation of the Bible, which had been made in 1224, by Guiars des Moulins. It had been revised, corrected, and printed at Paris, 1487, by order of Charles VIII. and the study of it now began to prevail. The reigning king, who was a patron of learning, encouraged his valet de chambre, Clement Marot, to versify some of David's psalms, and took great pleasure in singing them,* and either protected or persecuted the reformation, as his interest seemed to him to require. Although in 1535 he went in procession to burn the first martyrs of the reformed church, yet in the same year, he sent for Melancthon to come into France to reconcile religious differences. Although he persecuted his own Protestant subjects with great inhumanity, yet, when he was afraid that the ruin of the German protestants would strengthen the hands of the emperor Charles the Fifth, he made an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany, and allowed the duke of Orleans, his second son, to offer them the free exercise of their religion in the dukedom of Luxemburg. He suffered his sister, the queen of Navarre, to protect the reformation in her country of Bearn, and even saved Geneva, when Charles, duke of Savoy, would have taken it. It was no uncommon thing, in that age, for princes to trifle thus with religion His majesty's first concern was to be a king; his second, to act like a rational creature.

The reformation greatly increased in this reign. The pious queen of Navarre made her court a covert from every storm, supplied France with preachers, and the exiles at Geneva with money. Calvin, who in 1534 had fled from his rectory in France, and had settled at Geneva 1541, was a chief instrument; he slid his catechism and other books into France. Some of the bishops were inclined to the reformation, but secretly, for fear of the christians of Rome. The reformation was called Calvinism. The people were named Sacramentarians, Lutherans, Calvinists: and nick-named *Hogonots*, either from *Hugon*, a hobgoblin, because, to avoid persecution, they held their assemblies in the night; or from the gate *Hugon*, in Tours, where they used to meet; or from a Swiss word, which signifies a league.

Henry II. who succeeded his father Francis, 1547, was a weak and wicked prince. The increase of his authority was *the*

* His majesty's favourite psalm, which he sang when he went a hunting, was the 42d. The queen used to sing the 6th, and the king's mistress the 130th. Marot translated fifty, Beza the other hundred. Calvin got them set to music by the best musicians, and every body sang them as ballads. When the reformed churches made them a part of their worship, the Papists were forbidden to sing them any more, and to sing a Psalm was a sign of a Lutheran.

law and the prophets to him. He violently persecuted the Calvinists of France, because he was taught to believe that heresy was a faction repugnant to authority: and he made an alliance with the German Protestants, and was pleased with the title of *Protector of the Germanic Liberties*, that is, protector of *Protestantism!* This alliance he made in order to check the power of Charles V. He was governed, sometimes by his queen Catherine de Medicis, niece of pope Clement VII. who, it is said, never did right, except she did it by mistake: often by the constable de Montmorenci, whom, contrary to the express command of his father, in his dying illness, he had placed at the head of administration: chiefly by his mistress, Diana, of Poitiers, who had been mistress to his father, and who bore an implacable hatred to Protestants: and always by some of his favourites, whom he suffered to amass immense fortunes by accusing men of heresy. The reformation was very much advanced in this reign. The gentry promoted the acting of plays, in which the comedians exposed the lives and doctrines of the Popish clergy, and the poignant wit and humour of the comedians afforded great diversion to the people, and conciliated them to the new preachers. Beza, who had fled to Geneva, 1548, came backward and forward into France, and was a chief promoter of the work. His Latin Testament, which he first published in this reign, was much read, greatly admired, 1556, and contributed to the strength of the cause. The New Testament was the Goliah's sword of the clerical reformers—*there was none like it.*

Francis II. succeeded his father Henry, 1559. He was only in the sixteenth year of his age, extremely weak both in body and mind, and therefore incapable of governing the kingdom by himself. In this reign began those civil wars, which raged in France for almost forty years. They have been charged on false zeal for religion: but this charge is a calumny, for the crown of France was the prize for which the generals fought. It was that which inspired them with hopes and fears, productive of devotions, or persecutions, as either of them opened access to the throne. The interests of religion, indeed, fell in with these views, and so the parties were blended together in war.

The family of Charles the Great, which had reigned in France for 236 years, either became extinct or was deprived of its inheritance, at the death of Lewis the Lazy in 987. Him Hugh Capet had succeeded, and had transmitted the crown to his own posterity, which, in this reign subsisted in two principal branches; in that of Valois, which was in possession of the throne; and that of Bourbon, the next heir to the throne of France, and then in possession of Bearn. The latter had been driven out of the kingdom of Navarre; but they retained the

title, and were sometimes at Bearn, and sometimes at the court of France. The house of Guise, dukes of Lorrain, a very rich and powerful family, to whose niece, Mary, queen of Scots, the young king was married, pretended to make out their descent from Charles the Great, and were competitors, when the times served, with the reigning family for the throne, and, at other times, with the Bourbon family, for the apparent heirship to it. With these views they directed their family alliances, perfected themselves in military skill, and intrigued at court for the administration of affairs. These three houses formed three parties. The house of Guise, (the chief of which were five brethren at this time,) headed one; the king of Navarre, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of the crown, the other; the queen mother, who managed the interests of the reigning family, exercised her policy on both, to keep either from becoming too strong; while the feeble child on the throne was alternately a prey to them all.

Protestantism had obtained numerous converts in the last reign. Several princes of the blood, some chief officers of the crown, and many principal families, had embraced it; and its partizans were so numerous, both in Paris and in all the provinces, that each leader of the court parties deliberated on the policy of strengthening his party by openly espousing the reformation, by endeavouring to free the Protestants from penal laws, and by obtaining a free toleration for them. At length, the house of Bourbon declared for Protestantism, and, of consequence, the Guises were inspired with zeal for the support of the ancient religion, and took the Roman Catholics under their protection. The king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, were the heads of the first: but the duke of Guise had the address to obtain the chief management of affairs, and the Protestants were persecuted with insatiable fury all the time of this reign.

Had religion then no share in these commotions? Certainly it had, with many of the princes, and with multitudes of the soldiers: but they were a motley mixture; one fought for his coronet, another for his land, a third for liberty of conscience, and a fourth for pay. Courage was a joint stock, and they were mutual sharers of gain or loss, praise or blame. It was religion to secure the lives and properties of noble families, and though the common people had no lordships, yet they had the more valuable rights of conscience, and for them they fought. We mistake if we imagine that the French have never understood the nature of civil and religious liberty; they have well understood it, though they have not been able to obtain it. *Suum cui-*

que, would have been as expressive a motto as any that the Protestant generals could have borne.

The persecution of the Protestants was very severe at this time. Councellor du Bourg, a gentleman of eminent quality and great merit, was burnt for heresy, and the court was inclined, not only to rid France of Protestantism, but Scotland also, and sent La Brosse with three thousand men to assist the queen of Scotland in that pious design. This was frustrated by the intervention of queen Elizabeth of England. The persecution becoming every day more intolerable, and the king being quite inaccessible to the remonstrances of his people, the Protestants held several consultations, and took the opinions of their ministers, as well as those of their noble partizans, on the question, whether it were lawful to take up arms in their own defence, and to make way for a free access to the king to present their petitions? It was unanimously resolved, that it was lawful, and it was agreed, that a certain number of men should be chosen, who should go on a fixed day, under the direction of Lewis prince of Condé, present their petition to the king, and seize the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorrain, his brother, in order to have them tried before the states. This affair was discovered to the duke by a false brother; the design was defeated, and twelve hundred were beheaded. Guise pretended to have suppressed a rebellion that was designed to end in the dethroning of the king, and by this manœuvre he procured the general lieutenancy of the kingdom, and the glorious title of *Conservator of his Country*. He pleased the puerile king by placing a few gaudy horse-guards round his palace, and he infatuated the poor child to think himself and his kingdom rich and happy, while his Protestant subjects lay bleeding through all his realm.

The infinite value of an able statesman, in such an important crisis as this, might here be exemplified in the conduct of Michael de L'Hospital, who at this time, 1560, was promoted to the chancellorship: but our limits will not allow an enlargement. He was the most consummate politician that France ever employed. He had the wisdom of governing, without the folly of discovering it, and all his actions were guided by that cool moderation which always accompanies a superior knowledge of mankind. He was a concealed Protestant of the most liberal sentiments, an entire friend to religious liberty, and it was his wise management that saved France. It was his fixed opinion, that FREE TOLERATION was sound policy. We must not wonder that rigid Papists deemed him an atheist; while zealous, but mistaken, Protestants, pictured him carrying a torch behind him, to guide others, but not himself. The more a man resem-

bles God, the more will his conduct be censured by ignorance, partiality, and pride!

The Duke of Guise, in order to please and strengthen his party, endeavoured to establish an inquisition in France. The chancellor, being willing to parry a thrust which he could not entirely avoid, was forced, in May, 1560, to agree to a severer edict than he could have wished, to defeat the design. By this edict, the cognizance of the crime of heresy was taken from the secular judges, and given to the bishops alone. The Calvinists complained of this, because it put them into the hands of their enemies: and although their lordships condemned and burnt so many heretics, that their courts were justly called *Chambres ardents*, (burning courts, fire offices,) yet the zealous Catholics thought them less eligible than an inquisition after the manner of Spain.

Soon after the making of this edict, many families having been ruined by it, admiral Coligny, in Aug. 1560, presented a petition to the king, in the names of all the Protestants in France, humbly praying that they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion. The king referred the matter to the parliament, who were to consult about it with the lords of his council. A warm debate ensued, and the Catholics carried it against the Protestants by *three* voices. It was resolved, that people should be obliged either to conform to the old established church, or to quit the kingdom, with permission to sell their estates. The Protestants argued, that in a point of such importance it would be unreasonable, on account of three voices, to inflame all France with animosity and war; that the method of banishment was impossible to be executed; and that the obliging of those who continued in France, to submit to the Romish religion against their consciences, was an absurd attempt, and equal to an impossibility. The chancellor and the protestant lords, used every effort to procure a toleration, while the Catholic party urged the necessity of uniformity in religion. At length two of the bishops owned the necessity of reforming, pleaded strenuously for moderate measures, and proposed the deciding of these controversies in an assembly of the states, assisted by a national council, to be summoned at the latter end of the year. To this proposal the assembly agreed.

The court of Rome having laid it down as an indubitable maxim in church police, that an inquisition was the only support of the hierarchy, and dreading the consequences of allowing a nation to reform itself, was alarmed at this intelligence, and instantly sent a nuncio into France. His instructions were to prevent, if possible, the calling of a national council, and to promise the re-assembling of the general council of Trent.—The

Protestants had been too often dupes to such artifices as these, and being fully convinced of the futility of general councils, they refused to submit to the council of Trent now, for several good reasons. The pope, they said, who assembled the council, was to be judge in his own cause: the council would be chiefly composed of Italian bishops, who were vassals of the pope as a secular prince, and sworn to him as a bishop and head of the church: the legates would pack a majority, and bribe the poor bishops to vote: each article would be first settled at Rome, and then proposed by the legates to the council; the emperor, by advice of the late council of Constance, had given a safe-conduct to John Huss, and to Jerom of Prague; however, when they appeared in the council, and proposed their doubts, the council condemned them to be burnt. The Protestants had reason on their side, when they rejected this method of reforming; for the art of procuring a majority of votes is the soul of this system of church government. This art consists in the ingenuity of finding out, and in the dexterity of addressing, each man's weak side, his pride or his ignorance, his envy, his gravity, or his avarice: and the possessing of this is the perfection of a legate of Rome.

During these disputes, the king died without issue, December 5, 1560, and his brother, Charles IX. who was in the 11th year of his age, succeeded him, Dec. 13. The states met at the time proposed. The chancellor opened the session by an unanswerable speech on the ill policy of persecution; he represented the miseries of the Protestants, and proposed an abatement of their sufferings, till their complaints could be heard in a national council. The prince of Condé, and the king of Navarre, were the heads of the Protestant party, the Guises were the heads of their opponents, and the queen-mother, Catherine of Medicis, who had obtained the regency till the king's majority, and who began to dread the power of the Guises, leaned to the Protestants; which was a grand event in their favour. After repeated meetings, and various warm debates, it was agreed, as one side would not submit to a general council, nor the other to a national assembly, that a *conference* should be held at Poissy, July, 1561, between both parties, and an edict was made, that no persons should molest the Protestants, that the imprisoned should be released, and the exiles called home.

The conference at Poissy was held August, 1561, in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, the nobility, cardinals, prelates, and grandees of both parties. On the Popish side, six cardinals, four bishops, and several dignified clergymen; and on the Protestant, about twelve of the most famous reformed ministers, managed the dispute. Beza, who spoke well, knew

the world, had a ready wit, and a deal of learning, displayed all his powers in favour of the reformation. The Papists reasoned where they could, and where they could not, they railed. The conference ended September 29, where most public disputes have ended, that is, where they began; for great men never enter these lists without a previous determination not to submit to the disgrace of a public defeat.

At the close of the last reign the ruin of Protestantism seemed inevitable; but now the reformation turned like a tide, overspread every place, and seemed to roll away all opposition, and in all probability, had it not been for one sad event, it would now have subverted Popery in this kingdom. The king of Navarre, who was now lieutenant-general of France, had hitherto been a zealous Protestant; he had taken incredible pains to support the reformation, and had assured the Danish ambassador, that in a year's time he would cause the true gospel to be preached throughout France. The Guises caballed with the pope and the king of Spain, and offered to invest the king of Navarre with the kingdom of Sardinia, and to restore to him that part of the kingdom of Navarre which lay in Spain, on condition of his renouncing Protestantism.—The lure was tempting, and the king deserted, and even persecuted, the Protestants. Providence is never at a loss for means to effect its designs. The queen of Navarre, daughter of the last queen, who had hitherto preferred a dance before a sermon, was shocked at the king's conduct, and instantly became a zealous Protestant herself. She met with some unkind treatment, but nothing could shake her resolution: *Had I*, said she, *the kingdoms in my hand, I would throw them into the sea, rather than defile my conscience by going to mass.* This courageous profession saved her a deal of trouble and dispute!

The Protestants began now to appear more publickly than before. The queen of Navarre caused Beza openly to solemnize a marriage in a noble family, after the Genevan manner. This, which was consummated near the court, emboldened the ministers, and they preached at the countess de Senignas, guarded by the marshal's provosts. The nobility thought that the common people had as good a right to hear the gospel as themselves, and caused the reformed clergy to preach without the walls of Paris. Their auditors were thirty or forty thousand people, divided into three companies; the women in the middle, surrounded by men on foot, and the latter by men on horseback; and, during the sermon, the governor of Paris placed soldiers to guard the avenues, and to prevent disturbances. The *morality* of this worship cannot be disputed; for, if God be worshipped in spirit and in truth, the place is indifferent. The *expediency*

of it may be doubted; but in a persecution of forty years, the French Protestants had learned, that their political masters did not consider how rational, but how formidable they were.

The Guises, and their associates, being quite dispirited, retired to their estates, and the queen-regent, by the chancellor's advice, granted an edict to enable the Protestants to preach in all parts of the kingdom, except in Paris, and in other walled cities. The parliaments of France had then the power of refusing to register royal edicts, and the chancellor had occasion for all his address to prevail over the scruples and ill humour of the parliament to procure the registering of this. He begged leave to say, that the question before them was one of those which had its difficulties, in whatever side it was viewed; that, in the present case, one of two things must be chosen, either to put all the adherents of the new religion to the sword, or to banish them entirely, allowing them to dispose of their effects; that the first point could not be executed, since that party was too strong both in leaders and partizans; and, though it could be done, yet as it was staining the king's youth with the blood of so many of his subjects, perhaps when he came of age he would demand it at the hands of his governors; with regard to the second point, it was as little feasible, and could it be effected, it would be raising as many desperate enemies as exiles; that to enforce conformity against conscience, as matters stood now, was to lead the people to atheism. The edict at last was passed, Jan. 1562, but the house registered it with this clause, *In consideration of the present juncture of the times; but not approving of the new religion in any manner, and till the king shall otherwise appoint.* So hard sat toleration on the minds of Papists!

A minority was a period favourable to the views of the Guises, and this edict was a happy occasion of a pretence for commencing hostilities. The duke, instigated by his mother, went to Vassi, a town adjacent to one of his lordships, and, some of his retinue picking a quarrel with some Protestants, who were hearing a sermon in a barn, he interested himself in it, wounded two hundred, and left sixty dead on the spot, March 1, 1562. This was the first Protestant blood that was shed in civil war.

The news of this affair flew like lightning, and, while the duke was marching to Paris with a thousand horse, the city and the provinces rose in arms. The chancellor was extremely afflicted to see both sides preparing for war, and endeavoured to dissuade them from it. The constable told him, *It did not belong to men of the long robe to give their judgment with relation to war.* To which he answered, that, *though he did not bear arms, he knew when they ought to be used.* After this they excluded him from the councils of war.

The queen-regent, alarmed at the duke's approach to Paris, threw herself into the hands of the Protestants, and ordered Condé to take up arms, Aug. 1562. War began, and barbarities and cruelties were practised on both sides. The duke of Guise was assassinated, the king of Navarre was killed at a siege, fifty thousand Protestants were slain, and after a year had been spent in these confusions, a peace was concluded, 1563. All that the Protestants obtained was an edict, which excluded the exercise of their religion from cities, and restrained to their own families.

Peace did not continue long; for the Protestants having received intelligence that the pope, the house of Austria, and the house of Guise, had conspired their ruin, and fearing that the king and the court were inclined to crush them, as their rights were every day infringed by new edicts, took up arms again in their own defence, 1567. The city of Rochelle declared for them, and it served them for an asylum for sixty years. They were assisted by queen Elizabeth of England, and by the German princes, and they obtained, at the conclusion of this second war, 1568, the revocation of all penal edicts, the exercise of their religion in their families, and the grant of six cities for their security.

The pope, the king of Spain, and the Guises, finding that they could not prevail while the wise chancellor retained his influence, formed a cabal against him, and got him removed. He resigned very readily, June 1568, and retired to a country seat, where he spent the remainder of his days. A strange confusion followed in the direction of affairs: one edict allowed liberty, another forbad it, and it was plain to the Protestants that their situation was very delicate and dangerous. The articles of the last peace had never been performed, and the Papists every where insulted their liberties, so that in three months time, two thousand Hugonots were murdered, and the murderers went unpunished. War broke out again, 1568. Queen Elizabeth assisted the Protestants with money, the count Palatine helped them with men, the queen of Navarre parted with her rings and jewels to support them, and, the prince of Condé being slain, she declared her son, prince Henry, the head and protector of the Protestant cause, and caused medals to be struck with these words, *A safe Peace, a complete Victory, a glorious Death.* Her majesty did every thing in her power for the advancement of the cause of religious liberty, and she used to say, that *liberty of conscience ought to be preferred before honours, dignities, and life itself.* She caused the New Testament, the cateshism, and the liturgy of Geneva, to be translated and printed at Rochelle. She abolished Popery, and established Protestantism in her own

dominions. In her leisure hours, she expressed her zeal by working tapestries with her own hands, in which she represented the monuments of that liberty, which she procured by shaking off the yoke of the pope. One suit consisted of twelve pieces. On each piece was represented some scripture history of *deliverance;* Israel coming out of Egypt, Joseph's release from prison, or something of the like kind. On the top of each piece were these words, *Where the Spirit is, there is liberty;* and in the corners of each were broken chains, fetters, and gibbets. One piece represented a congregation at mass, and a fox, in a friar's habit, officiating as a priest, grinning horribly, and saying, *The Lord be with you.* The pieces were fashionable patterns, and dexterously directed the needles of the ladies to help forward the reformation.

After many negociations, a peace was concluded, 1570, and the free exercise of religion was allowed in all but walled cities; two cities in every province were assigned to the Protestants; they were to be admitted into all universities, schools, hospitals, public offices, royal, seignioral, and corporate; and, to render the peace of everlasting duration, a match was proposed between Henry of Navarre, and the sister of king Charles. These articles were accepted, the match was agreed to, every man's sword was put up in its sheath, and the queen of Navarre, her son king Henry, the princes of the blood, and the principal Protestantss went to Paris to celebrate the marriage, Aug. 18, 1572. A few days after the marriage, the admiral, who was one of the principal Protestant leaders, was assassinated. Aug. 22. This alarmed the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé; but the king and his mother promising to punish the assassin, they were quiet. The next Sunday, being St. Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24, when the bells rang for morning prayers, the duke of Guise, brother of the last, appeared with a great number of soldiers and citizens, and began to murder the Hugonots; the wretched Charles appeared at the windows of his palace, and endeavoured to shoot those who fled, crying to their pursuers, *Kill them! Kill them!* The massacre continued seven days; seven hundred houses were pillaged; five thousand people perished in Paris; neither age, nor sex, nor even women with child, were spared; one butcher boasted to the king, that *he had hewn down a hundred and fifty in one night.* The rage ran from Paris to the provinces, where *twenty-five thousand* more were cruelly slain; the queen of Navarre was poisoned; and during the massacre, the king offered the king of Navarre, and the young prince of Condé, son of the late prince, if they would not renounce Hugonotism, either *death, mass,* or *bastile:* for, he said, he would not have one left to reproach him. This

bloody affair does not lie between Charles IX. his mother Catherine of Medicis, and the duke of Guise; for the church of Rome, and the court of Spain, by exhibiting public rejoicings on the occasion, have adopted the whole for their own, or, at least, have claimed a large share.

An Account of the Massacre of Paris; translated from the French of M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux.

"In the year 1572, Charles IX. being determined to destroy all the Protestants in France, invited the chief of them to Paris, to be present at the marriage of his sister. Judging it best to begin with the admiral Coligny, he ordered the duke of Guise to find him an assassin. He had not far to seek for one, who, in a house of a confidant of the duke of Guise, chose a window looking into the street, through which the admiral always went home, from the Louvre. On the 22d of August, about eleven, o'clock in the forenoon, Montrevel, seeing him passing on foot, pretty slowly, shot at him with a musket loaded with two balls, one of which wounded him in the left arm, and the other broke a finger of his right hand. The shot was heard in the tennis-court, where the king was playing with the duke of Guise. Some of his attendants came and told the king. He immediately threw down his racket, and went out quite in a fury, swearing that he would do justice for a crime, which more regarded his own person than the admiral's; he spoke with the same force of expression to the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, who came so ask his permission to retire. The ardour with which he declared to them his intention to revenge the assassination, almost quieted their minds.

"In vain was search made for the assassin; he had made his escape on a horse, brought by one of the duke of Guise's servants. The Hugonots did not take fire, as had been expected; the admiral's tranquillity prevented them from being moved; he was never angry with any body; but in conversation about the contriver of the murder, he pointed out the duke of Guise, but did not name him. As for the king, the admiral was very far from suspecting him. He suffered his pain, and the incisions that were necessary to be made, with admirable constancy. The very day that he was wounded, though he was far from being out of danger, he saw and conversed with all the lords of the court, with a courage and steadiness that surprised them, expressing an entire indifference about life or death, and declaring that he should die satisfied, provided he could tell the king something of great importance, for his glory, and the welfare of his kingdom. He added, that the affair was of such a nature as could be entrusted to nobody else. This was told the king,

who, a little after came to visit him with the queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Guise.

"In the private conference which he had with the king, his conversation turned entirely on the war in Flanders, to which he persuaded the king with all possible earnestness. He warned him of the little secrecy observed by his council, in which nothing was said which was not immediately carried to the duke of Alba. He concluded with earnestly recommending to the king the execution of edicts, as the sole means of preserving the kingdom.

"The conversation lasted so long, that the queen-mother, who perceived the admiral speaking with some emotion, and the king in appearance relishing what he was saying, became uneasy at it. She was afraid that so strong a reasoner might influence the king; but that prince rose up without determining on the war in the Low Countries. During the whole conversation, the king called the admiral his father with so profound a dissimulation, that there was nobody but believed he was affected. As he frequently swore that he would do justice upon the contrivers of the assassination, the admiral told him softly, that no long time was necessary for discovering them. After the king had retired, the queen-mother with much uneasiness asked him what the admiral was saying to him with so much earnestness? He was of a harsh temper, and for some time began to speak dryly to that princess. The deed which he was contriving made him still wilder; so that he answered, swearing according to his custom, that the admiral had advised him to reign by himself.

"The Hugonots, in the mean time, assembled at the admiral's house. The vidame of Chartres said without hesitation, that the admiral's wound was only the beginning of the tragedy, and that they should all soon become its bloody conclusion, if they did not speedily leave Paris. But Teligni, far from hearing the vidame, was angry at him for doubting the honest intentions of the king. As for the admiral, whether in fact he did not perceive what was preparing, or chose to die rather than again to plunge his native country into the evils from which it emerged, he raised himself above every thing, and quietly waited the event. His friends undesignedly hastened his death. As they were afraid that the populace would rise up against them, and fall upon the admiral, they petitioned the king to have his house guarded. This was a fine pretext for the king, for securing his person: he caused a company of the guards to be placed before the admiral's house; he ordered the Protestant gentlemen to lodge round the admiral, and ordered lodgings

to be marked for them. At the same time the magistrates took the names of all the Hugonots, under pretext of lodging them.

"The king seemed afraid that the duke of Guise might occasion some commotion, and feigned an inclination to secure the king of Navarre's life, by inviting him, as well as the prince of Conde, to shut himself up in the Louvre, with all the bravest men they had. Thus all the Protestants were in his hands, without a possibility for any of them to escape.

"The vidame was confirmed in his opinion, that there was a plot to destroy them. As the admiral was in a condition to be removed in a litter, he anew insisted on a retreat; but the charm was too strong, or the king's dissimulation too deep. Teligni remained in his blindness; but some of the party, among the rest Montgomery, retired into the Fauxbourg St. Germain, where those of their religion mostly lodged. All that the vidame said was immediately reported to the queen. This was the 23d of August, the eve of St. Bartholomew. It was feared that the arguments should at last prevail, and it was immediately resolved to put to death all the Hugonots in Paris.—Such a massacre was not at first proposed to the king, and none but the chief persons were mentioned: but he answered with an oath, that since he must kill, he intended that not a single Hugonot should remain to upbraid him. So an universal massacre was intended, and it was resolved to be made all over the kingdom. The king of Navarre was excepted; and he owed his safety not so much to his rank, his birth, or his new alliance, as to the possibility of ascribing his death, like that of the admiral, to the duke of Guise. Not but the king loved him; but that inclination was not strong enough to save him, had he been pressed. As for the prince of Conde, whom the memory of his father rendered odious, his sentence was pronounced; and he had died, had not his brother-in-law, the duke of Nevers, broken the blow, by answering for his submission. The night following was chosen for the execution.

"The alarm rung at the palace, on the great bell used in extraordinary ceremonies, was to serve for a signal. The duke of Guise was not ashamed to undertake the execution. The first crime which he had committed in procuring the assassination of the admiral, was an engagement of him in all the rest. Orders were secretly given to have him obeyed in the city, and also by the military. Arms were carried to the Louvre with as much secrecy as possible. Teligni had information of it, as well as of the private movement of the military. The king told him, every thing was doing by his orders, to keep the populace, whom the duke of Guise was endeavouring to raise, to their good behaviour. Upon this, Teligni continued quiet, and even hindered his father-in-law

from being warned. The night was already far advanced when the duke of Guise began to give his orders. He commanded the mayor and sheriffs, who had been prepared, without acquainting them with particulars, to keep their men in readiness, and to repair to the town house to get their orders.

"The mayor declared to the men whom he had hired, that the king had resolved to be rid that night of all the Hugonots then in Paris; and that he had given orders at the same time, that they should be treated in the same manner throughout his kingdom; and that therefore they should not fail to fall upon them at the signal. He caused them to put a shirt sleeve upon their left arms, and a white cross in their hats, that they might know each other: and ordered, that at a certain hour lanthorns should be lighted in all the windows. The hour of twelve was approaching, and the queen came and struck the last stroke. As she perceived the king grow pale, she said to him, *Have you not the resolution to rid yourself of men who have so little regard for your authority?* He was nettled, and bid them begin then. The queen left him immediately, and gave the last orders.

"A great mob gathered about the Louvre. The lanthorns were lighted. The Hugonots, in surprise, asked what was the matter? They were answered, that it was a rejoicing at the Louvre. Some of them went thither, and were committed to the guard-room, whilst the king, terrified at the orders he had given, commanded they should still delay: but he was told there was no longer time for deliberation. The alarm rung at St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, the parish church next the Louvre, and the duke of Guise marched with a great retinue to the admiral's. He awoke at the noise. His first thought was, that the duke of Guise had made an insurrection among the people. Some shots which he heard in his court, made him guess that their aim was at him. He arose out of bed, said his prayers, told his servants, without any emotion, that he plainly perceived he must die, and that they might make their escape as well as they could; for he had no further need of man's assistance.

"Scarce had he ended, when he saw enter, with a drawn sword, a man, who asked if he was the admiral? "Yes, (said he) young man;" shewing him his grey hairs: and added, "Thou oughtest to respect my age; but go on, thou wilt only deprive me of a few minutes." The assassin then ran the sword through his body, and pierced him with several wounds. The duke of Guise asked if he was dead, and to be assured of it, he wanted to see his dead body; it was thrown out at the window to him. Teligni was killed at the same time.

"At that instant they burst into the adjacent houses, which they filled with slaughter. That whole quarter of the city ran

like a rivulet with blood. The count de la Rochefoucault, the marquis de Renel, and other persons of quality, were first butchered. In the Louvre, the Hugonots were pulled out of their apartments, and after being knocked on the head, they were thrown out at the windows. The court was full of dead bodies, which the king and the queen looked at, not with horror, but with pleasure! All the streets were now filled with slaughter; neither old men, nor children, nor pregnant women, were spared. Every one glutted his own private revenge under pretext of religion, and many Roman Catholics were killed as well as Hugonots.

" Peter Ramus, a famous professor, was thrown down from a tower of the college of Beauvais, where he was teaching. The jealousy of Charpentier, another professor, occasioned his death. They had disputed with too much heat; Charpentier, in defending Aristotle; and Ramus, in attacking him: so that poor man was put to death more as an enemy of the peripatetic philosophy, than of the doctrine of the Roman church. Dionysius Lambinus, another professor, by no means a Hugonot, but odious to Charpentier, was afraid of the like destiny; and though his enemy had spared him, the fright killed him. Several of those the king had proscribed, escaped; notwithstanding his peremptory orders, the duke of Guise saved d'Acier, and some others, to free himself from part of the odium, and shew that his only design was against the admiral.

" Three Montmorencys escaped, though included in the list, because the marshal de Montmorency, their eldest brother, being absent, could not be killed with them. Being a friend or relation of the admiral, was a sufficient reason for being treated like a Hugonot. Marshal de Cosse, because he was one of the politicians, was destined to death, and was saved by the interest of a kinswoman, with whom the duke of Anjou was in love. Biron, who was not reckoned enemy enough to the Hugonots, had died with the rest, had not his office of grand master of the artillery furnished him with an oppotunity to take shelter in the arsenal, where they durst not attack him.—He there harboured a great many of the proscribed, and among others, James de Chaumont de Nonpart, a boy of ten years of age, who had escaped by hiding himself under the bodies of his father and elder brother, who had been assassinated in his sight. As for the vidame, and Montgomery, when they heard the noise in the city, they wanted to pass the river, with those who had followed them, into the Fauxbourg St. Germain, to see what the matter was. Strange! they perceived the king dragging the bodies of the massacred out of the windows of the Louvre. They made their escape in all haste.

"The massacre lasted several days, of which the two or three first were terribly violent.—The first night the king sent for the king of Navarre and prince of Conde, to command them to abjure their heresy. The cardinal de Bourbon, and some churchmen, endeavoured to instruct them. The king of Navarre made small resistance. The prince of Conde, at first, urged steadily that his conscience ought not to be forced, and that he could not be persuaded that the king would break the promise he had given; but he soon changed his language, when he heard the king in person giving him, with a terrible oath, these three choices, "Mass, Death, or the Bastile for life."

When intelligence of this horrible massacre was received at Rome, there was the greatest public rejoicing. The pope and his cardinals went in solemn procession to the church of St. Mark to give thanks to God. A jubilee was also published, and the ordnance fired from the castle of St. Angelo. To the person who brought the news, the cardinal of Lorraine gave 1000 crowns. Like rejoicings were also made all over France for this imagined overthrow of the faithful.

Would any one, after this, propose passive obedience and non-resistance to French Protestants? or, can we wonder that, abhorring a church which offered to embrace them with hands reeking with the blood of their brethren, they put on their armour again, and commenced a fourth civil war? The late massacre raised up also another party, called *Politicians*, who proposed to banish the family of Guise from France, to remove the queen-mother and the Italians from the government, and to restore peace to the nation. This faction was headed by Montmorency, who had an eye to the crown. During these troubles the king died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, 1574. Charles had a lively little genius; he composed a book on hunting, and valued himself on his skill in physiognomy. He thought courage consisted in swearing and taunting at his courtiers. His diversions were hunting, music, women, and wine. His court was a common sewer of luxury and impiety; and while his favourites were fleecing his people, he employed himself in the making of rhymes. The part he acted in the Bartholomean tragedy, the worst crime that was ever perpetrated in any Christian country, will mark his reign with infamy to the end of time.

Henry the III. who succeeded his brother Charles, was first despised, and then hated, by all his subjects. He was so proud, that he set rails round his table, and affected the pomp of an eastern king; and so mean, that he often walked in procession with a beggarly brother-hood, with a string of beads in his hand, and a whip at his girdle. He was so credulous, that he took the sacrament with the duke of Guise, and with the car-

dinal of Lorrain, his brother; and so treacherous, that he caused the assassination of them both, 1588. He boasted of being a chief adviser of the late massacre, and the Protestants abhorred him for it. The Papists hated him for his adherence to the Hugonot house of Bourbon, and for the edicts which he sometimes granted in favour of the Protestants, though his only aim was to weaken the Guises. The ladies held him in execration, for his unnatural practices: and the duchess of Montpensier talked of clipping his hair, and of making him a monk. His heavy taxes, which were consumed by his favourites, excited the populace against him, and while his kingdom was covering with carnage, and drenching in blood, he was training lap-dogs to tumble, and parrots to prate.

In this reign, 1576, was formed the famous *league*, which reduced France to the most miserable condition that could be. The chief promoter of it was the duke of Guise. The pretence was, the preservation of the Catholic religion. The chief articles were three: *The defence of the Catholic religion; the establishment of Henry III. on the throne; the maintaining of the liberty of the kingdom, and the assembling of the states.* Those who entered into the league promised to obey such a general as should be chosen for the defence of it, and the whole was confirmed by oath. The weak Henry subscribed it at first, in hopes of subduing the Hugonots: the queen-mother, the Guises, the pope, the king of Spain, many of the clergy, and multitudes of the people, became *leaguers.* When Henry perceived that Guise was aiming by this league to dethrone him, he favoured the Protestants, and they obtained an edict, 1576, for a free exercise of their religion: but edicts were vain things against the power of the league, and three civil wars raged in their reign.

Guise's pretended zeal for the Romish religion allured the clergy, and France was filled with seditious books and sermons. The preachers of the league were the most furious of all sermon-mongers. They preached up the excellence of the established church, the necessity of uniformity, the horror of Hugonotism, the merit of killing the *tyrant* on the throne (for so they called the king,) the genealogy of the house of Guise, and every thing else that could inflame the madness of party rage. It is not enough to say that these abandoned clergymen disgraced their office: truth obliges us to add, they were protected, and preferred to dignities in the church, both in France and Spain.

The nearer the Guises approached the crown, the more they were inflamed at the sight of it. They obliged the king to forbid the exercise of the Protestant religion. They endeavoured to exclude the king of Navarre, who was now the next heir to

the throne, from the succession, They began to act so haughtily, that Henry caused both the duke and the cardinal to be assassinated, 1588. The next year, 1589, he himself was assassinated by a friar. Religion flourishes where nothing else can grow, and the reformation diffused itself more and more in this reign. The exiles at Geneva filled France with a new translation of the Bible, with books, letters, catechisms, hymns, and preachers; and the people, contrasting the religion of Christ with the religion of Rome, entertained a most serious aversion for the latter.

In the last king ended the family of Valois, and the next heir was Henry IV, of the house of Bourborn, king of Navarre. His majesty had been educated a Protestant, and had been the protector of the party, and the Protestants had reason to expect much from him on his ascending the throne of France: but he had many difficulties to surmount, for could the men, who would not bear a Hugonot subject, bear a Hugonot king? Some of the old faction disputed his title, and all insisted on a *Christian* king. Henry had for him on the one side almost all the nobility, the whole court of the late king, all Protestant states and princes, and the old Hugonot troops: on the other, he had against him the common people, most of the great cities, all the parliaments except two, the greatest part of the clergy, the pope, the king of Spain, and most Catholic states. Four years his majesty deliberated, negociated, and fought, but could not gain Paris. At length the league set up a king of the house of Guise, and Henry found that the throne was inaccessible to all but Papists; he therefore renounced heresy before Dr. Benoit, a moderate Papist, and professed his conversion to Popery. Paris opened its gates, 1594, the pope sent an absolution, and Henry became a *most Christian king*. Every man may rejoice that his virtue is not put to the trial of refusing a crown!

When his majesty got to his palace in Paris, he thought proper to conciliate his new friends by shewing them particular esteem, and played at cards the first evening with a lady of the house of Guise, the most violent leaguer in all the party. His old servants, who had shed rivers of blood to bring the house of Bourbon to the throne, thought themselves neglected. While the Protestants were slighted, and while those who had followed the league were disengaging themselves from it on advantageous conditions, one of the king's old friends said, "We do not envy your killing the fatted calf for the prodigal son, provided you do not sacrifice the obedient son to make the better entertainment for the prodigal. I dread those bargains, in which things

are given up, and nothing got but mere words, the words of those who hitherto have had no words at all."

By ascending the throne of France, Henry had risen to the highest degree of wretchedness. He had offered violence to his conscience by embracing Popery, and he had stirred up a general discontent among the French Protestants. The queen of England, and the Protestant states, reproached him bitterly, the league refused to acknowledge him till the pope had absolved him in form, the king of Spain caballed for the crown, several cities held out against him, many of the clergy thought him an hypocrite, and refused to insert his name in the public prayers of the church, the lawyers published libels against him, and Jesuits threatened to assassinate him, and actually attempted to do it. In this delicate and difficult situation, though his majesty manifested the frailty of humanity by renouncing Protestantism, yet he extricated himself and his subjects from the fatal labyrinths in which they were all involved; so that he deservedly acquired, even from his enemies, the epithet of *Great*, though his friends durst not give him that of *Good*.

The king had been so well acquainted with the Protestants, that he perfectly knew their principles, and could he have acted as he would, he would have instantly granted them all they wanted. Their enemies had falsely said, that they were enemies to government: but the king knew better; and he also knew that the claims of his family would have been long ago buried in oblivion, had not the Protestants supported them. Marshal Biron had been one chief instrument of bringing him to the throne. The Marshal was not a good Hugonot, nor did he profess to be a Papist: but he espoused the Protestant party: for he was a man of great sense, and he hated violence in religion; and there were many more of the same cast. Parties, however, ran so high that precipitance would have lost all, and Henry was obliged to proceed by slow and cautious steps.

The deputies of the reformed churches soon waited on his majesty to congratulate him, and to pray for liberty. The king allowed them to hold a general assembly, and offered them some slight satisfaction: but the hardy veteran Hugonots, who had spent their days in the field, and who knew also that persons, who were of approved fidelity, might venture to give the king their advice without angering him, took the liberty of reminding him, that they would not be paid in compliments for so many signal services. Their ancestors and they had supported his right to the crown, along with their own right to liberty of conscience; and as Providence had granted the one, they expected the other would not be denied. The king felt the force of these remonstrances, and ventured to allow them to hold

provincial assemblies; after a while, to convene a national synod; and as soon as he could he granted them the famous EDICT OF NANTZ.

The Edict of Nantz, which was called *perpetual* and *irrevocable*, and which contained ninety-two articles, besides fifty-six secret articles, granted to the Protestants liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of religion; many churches in all parts of France, and judges of their own persuasion; a free access to all places of honour and dignity; great sums of money to pay off their troops; an hundred places as pledges of their future security, and certain funds to maintain both their preachers and their garrisons. The king did not send this edict to be registered in parliament till the pope's legate was gone out of the kingdom, so that it did not get there till the next year. Some of the old party in the house boggled at it very much, and particularly because the Hugonots were hereby qualified for offices and places of trust; but his majesty sent for some of the chiefs to his closet, made them a most pathetic speech on the occasion, and with some difficulty brought them to a compliance. It is easy to conceive that the king might be very pathetic on this occasion; for he had seen and suffered enough to make any man so. The meanest Hugonot soldier could not avoid the pathos, if he related his campaigns. But it is very credible that it was not the pathos of his majesty's language, but the power in his hand, that affected these intolerant souls.

No nation ever made a more noble struggle for recovering liberty of conscience, out of the repacious hands of the Papal priesthood, than the French. And one may venture to defy the most sanguine friend to intolerance to prove, that a free toleration hath in any country, at any period, produced such calamities in society as those which persecution produced in France. After a million of brave men had been destroyed, after nine civil wars, after four pitched battles, after the besieging of several hundred places, after more than three hundred engagements, after poisoning, burning, assassinating, massacring, murdering in every form, France is forced to submit to what her wise chancellor de L'Hospital had at first proposed, A FREE TOLERATION. Most of the zealous leaguers voted for it, because *they had found by experience*, they said, *that violent proceedings in matters of religion prove more destructive than edifying.* A noble testimony from enemies' mouths!

France now began to taste the sweets of peace, the king employed himself in making his subjects happy, and the far greater part of his subjects endeavoured to render him so.—The Protestants applied themselves to the care of their churches, and as they had at this time a great many able ministers, they flou-

rished and increased the remaining part of this reign. The doctrine of their churches was Calvinism, and their discipline was Presbyterian, after the Genevan plan. Their churches were supplied by able pastors; their universities were adorned with learned and pious professors, such as Casaubon, Daille, and others, whose praises are in all the reformed churches; their provincial and national synods were regularly convened, and their people were well governed. Much pains were taken with the king to alienate his mind from his Protestant subjects: but no motives could influence him. He knew the worth of the men, and he protected them till his death. This great prince was hated by the Popish clergy for his lenity, and was stabbed in his coach by the execrable Ravillac, May 14, 1610, whose name inspires one with horror and pain.

Lewis XIII. was not quite nine years of age, when he succeeded his father Henry. The first act of the queen-mother, who had the regency during the king's minority, was the confirmation of the Edict of Nantz. Lewis confirmed it again in 1614, at his majority, promising to observe it inviolably. The Protestants deserved a confirmation of their privileges at his hands; for they had taken no part in the civil wars and disturbances, which had troubled his minority. They had been earnestly solicited to intermeddle with government; but they had wisely avoided it.

Lewis was a weak ambitious man; he was jealous of his power to excess, though he did not know wherein it consisted. He was so void of prudence, that he could not help exalting his flatterers into favourites, and his favourites into excessive power. He was so timorous, that his favourites became the objects of his hatred the moment after he had elevated them to authority; and he was so callous, that he never lamented a favourite's death or downfall. By a solemn act of devotion, attended with all the farce of pictures, masses, processions, and festivals, he consecrated his person, his dominions, his crown, and his subjects, to the Virgin Mary, in 1638, desiring her to defend his kingdom, and to inspire him with grace to lead a holy life. The Popish clergy adored him for thus sanctifying their superstitions by his example, and he in return lent them his power to punish his Protestant subjects, whom he hated. His panegyrists call him Lewis *the Just*: but they ought to acknowledge that his majesty did nothing to merit the title, till he found himself a-dying.

Lewis's prime minister was an artful, enterprising clergyman, who, before his elevation, was a country bishop, and, after it, was known by the title of cardinal de Richlieu; but the most proper title for his eminence is that which some historians give him, of the *Jupiter Mactator* of France. He was a man of

great ability, but of no merit. Had his virtue been as great as his capacity, he ought not to have been intrusted with government, because all cardinals take an oath to the pope; and although an oath does not bind a bad man, yet as the taking of it gives him credit, so the breach of it ruins all his prospects among those with whom he hath taken it.

The Jesuits, who had been banished in 1594 from France, for attempting the life of Henry IV. had been recalled in 1604, and restored to their houses; and one of their society, under pretence of being responsible as an hostage for the whole fraternity, was allowed to attend the king. The Jesuits, by this means, gained the greatest honour and power, and as they excelled in learning, address, and intrigue, they knew how to obtain the king's ear, and how to improve his credulity to their own advantage.

This dangerous society was first formed in 1534, by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish deserter, who, being frightened out of the army by a wound, took it in his head to go on pilgrimage, and to form a religious society for the support of the Catholic faith. The popes, who knew how to avail themselves of enthusiasm in church government, directed this grand spring of human action to secular purposes, and, by canonizing the founder, and arranging the order, elevated the society in a few years to a height that astonished all Europe. It was one opinion of the society, that the authority of kings is inferior to that of the people, and that they may be punished by the people in certain cases. It was another maxim with them, that sovereign princes have received from the hand of God a sword to punish heretics. The Jesuits did not invent these doctrines; but they drew such consequences from them as were most prejudicial to the public tranquillity: for, from the conjunction of these two principles, they concluded that an heretical prince ought to be deposed, and that heresy ought to be extirpated by fire and sword, in case it could not be extirpated otherwise. In conformity to the first of these principles, two kings of France had been murdered successively, under pretext that they were fautors of heretics. The parliament in this reign, 1615, condemned the first as a pernicious tenet, and declared that the authority of monarchs was dependent only on God: but the last principle, that related to the extirpation of heresy, as it flattered the court and the clergy, came into vogue. *Jus divinum* was the test of sound orthodoxy; and this reasoning became popular argumentation, *Princes* MAY *put heretics to death; therefore, they* OUGHT *to put them to death.*

Richlieu, who had wriggled himself into power, by publishing a scandalous libel on the Protestants of France, advised the

king to establish his authority, by extirpating the intestine evils of the kingdom. He assured his majesty, that the Hugonots had the power of doing him mischief, and that it was a principle with them, that kings might be deposed by the people. The Protestants replied to his invectives, and exposed the absurdity of his reasoning. Richlieu reasoned thus: John Knox, the Scotch reformer, did not believe the divine authority of kings. Calvin held a correspondence with Knox; therefore, Calvin did not believe it. The French reformed church derived its doctrine from Calvin's church of Geneva; therefore, the first Hugonots did not believe it. The first Hugonots did not believe it; therefore the present Hugonots do not believe it.—No man, who valued the reputation of a man of sense, would have scaled the walls of preferment with such a ridiculous ladder as this!

The king, intoxicated with despotic principles, followed the fatal advice of his minister, and began with his patrimonial province of Bearn, where he caused the Catholic religion to be established, 1620. The Hugonots broke out into violence at this attack on their liberties; whence the king took an opportunity to recover several places from them, and at last made peace with them on condition of their demolishing all their fortifications, except those of Montauban and Rochelle. Arnoux, the Jesuit, who was a creature of Richlieu's, was at that time confessor to Lewis *the Just*.

The politic Richlieu invariably pursued his design of rendering his master absolute. By one art he subdued the nobility, by another the parliaments; and as civil and religious liberty live and die together, he had engines of all sorts to extirpate heresy. He pretended to have formed the design of re-uniting the two churches of Protestants and Catholics. He drew off from the protestant party the dukes of Sully, Bouillon, Lesdeguieres, Rohan, and many of the first quality: for he had the world and its glory to go to market withal, and he had to do with a race of men who were very different from their ancestors. Most of them had either died for their profession, or had fled out of the kingdom, and several of them had submitted to practise mean trades, in foreign countries, for their support: but these were endeavouring to serve God and Mammon, and his eminence was a fit casuist for such consciences.

The Protestants had resolved, in a general assembly, to die rather than to submit to the loss of their liberties; but their king was weak, their prime minister was wicked, their clerical enemies were powerful and implacable, and they were obliged to bear those infractions of edicts which their oppressors made every day. At length Richlieu determined to put a period to their hopes, by the taking of Rochelle. The city was besieged both by sea and land, and the efforts of the besieged were at last

overcome by famine; for they had lived without bread for thirteen weeks, and, of eighteen thousand citizens, there were not above five thousand left, 1642. The strength of the Protestants was broken by this stroke. Montaubon agreed now to demolish its works, and the *just* king confirmed anew the *perpetual* and *irrevocable* Edict of Nantz, as far as it concerned a free exercise of religion.

The cardinal, not content with temporal power, had still another claim on the Protestants of a spiritual kind. Cautionary towns must be given up to that, and conscience to this. He suffered the edict to be infringed every day, and he was determined not to stop till he had established an uniformity in the church, without the obtaining of which he thought something was wanting to his master's power. The Protestants did all that prudence could suggest. They sent the famous Amyraut to complain to the king of the infraction of their edicts, 1631. Mr. Amyraut was a person proper to go on this business. He had an extreme attachment to the doctrine of passive obedience; this rendered him agreeable to the court: and he had declared for no obedience in matters of conscience; and this made him dear to the Protestants. The synod ordered him not to make his speech to the king kneeling, as the deputies of the former synod had done; but to procure the restoring of the privilege which they formerly enjoyed, of speaking to the king standing, as the other ecclesiastics of the kingdom were allowed to do. The cardinal strove for a whole fortnight, to make Amyraut to submit to this tacit acknowledgement of the clerical character in the Popish clergy, and of the want of it in the reformed ministers. But Amyraut persisted in his claim, and was introduced to the king as the synod had desired. The whole court was charmed with the deputy's talents and deportment. Richlieu had many conferences with him, and if negociation could have accommodated the dispute between arbitrary power and upright consciences, it would have been settled now. He was treated with the utmost politeness, and dismissed. If he had not the pleasure of reflecting that he had obtained the liberty of his party, he had, however, the peace that ariseth from a consciousness of having used a proper mean to obtain it. The same mean was tried, some time after, by the inimitable Du Bose, whom his countrymen called a PERFECT ORATOR; but, alas! he was eloquent in vain.

The affairs of the Protestants waxed, every day, worse and worse. They saw the clouds gathering, and they dreaded the weight of the storm; but they knew not whither to flee. Some fled to England; but no peace was there: Laud, the tyrant of the English church, had a Richlieu's heart without his head; he

persecuted them, and in conjunction with Wren, and other such churchmen, drove them back, to the infinite damage of the manufacture of the kingdom, 1634. It must affect every liberal eye to see such professors as Amyraut, Chappel, and De la Place, such ministers as Mestrezat and Blondel, who would have been an honour to any community, driven to the sad alternative of fleeing their country, or of violating their consciences. But their time was not yet fully come.

Cardinal Richlieu's hoary head went down to the grave, 1642, without the tears of his master, and with the hatred of all France. The king soon followed him, 1643, complaining in the words of Job, *My soul is weary of my life.* The Protestants had increased greatly in numbers in this reign, though they had lost their power; for they were now computed to exceed two millions. So true it is, that violent measures in religion weaken the church that employs them.

Lewis XIV. was only in the fifth year of his age at the demise of his father. The queen-mother was appointed sole regent, during his minority, and cardinal Mazarine, a creature of Richlieu's, was her prime minister. The Edict of Nantz was confirmed, 1643, by the regent, and again by the king at his majority, 1652. But it was always the cool determination of the minister to follow the late cardinal's plan, and to revoke it as soon as he could, and he strongly impressed the mind of the king with the expediency of it.

Louis, who was a perfect tool to the Jesuits, followed the advice of Mazarine, of his confessors, and of the clergy about him, and, as soon as he took the management of affairs into his own hands, 1661, he made a firm resolution to destroy the Protestants. He tried to weaken them by buying off their great men, and he had but too much success. Some, indeed, were superior to this state trick; and it was a noble answer which the Marquis of Bougy gave, when he was offered a marshal's staff, and any government that he might make choice of, provided he would turn Papist:—"Could I be prevailed on (said he) to betray my God, for a marshal of France's staff, I might betray my king for a thing of much less consequence; but I will do neither of them, but rejoice to find that my services are acceptable, and that the religion which I profess, is the only obstacle to my reward." Was his majesty so little versed in the knowledge of mankind, as not to know, that saleable virtue is seldom worth buying?

The king used another art, as mean as the former: he exhorted the bishops to take care that the points in controversy betwixt the Catholics and Calvinists should be much insisted on by the clergy in their sermons, especially in those places that were mostly inhabited by the latter, and that a good number of

missionaries should be sent among them to convert them to the religion of their ancestors. It should seem, at first view, that the exercise of his Majesty's power in this way would be formidable to the Protestants; for, as the king had the nomination of eighteen archbishops, a hundred and nine bishops, and seven hundred and fifty abbots, and as these dignitaries governed the inferior clergy, it is easy to see that all the Popish clergy of France were creatures of the court, and several of them were men of good learning. But the Protestants had no fears on this head; they were excellent scholars, masters of the controversy, hearty in the service, and the mortifications to which they had been long accustomed, had taught them that temperate coolness which is so essential in the investigating and supporting of truth. They published, therefore, unanswerable arguments for their non-conformity. The famous Mr. Claude, pastor of the church at Charenton, near Paris, wrote a *Defence of the Reformation*, which all the clergy of France could not answer. The bishops, however, answered the Protestants all at once, by procuring an edict which forbad them to print.

The king, in prosecution of his design, excluded the Calvinists from his household, and from all other employments of honour and profit; he ordered all the courts of Justice, erected by virtue of the edict of Nantz, to be abolished, and, in lieu of them, made several laws in favour of the Catholic religion, which debarred from all liberty of abjuring the Catholic doctrine, and restrained the Protestants who had embraced it, from returning to their former opinions, under severe punishments. He ordered soldiers to be quartered in their houses till they changed their religion. He shut up their churches, and forbad the ministerial function to their clergy; and where his commands were not readily obeyed, he levelled their churches with the ground. At last, Oct. 22, 1685, he revoked the Edict of Nantz, and banished them from the kingdom,

"A thousand dreadful blows (says Mr. Saurin) were struck at our afflicted churches, before that which destroyed them: for our enemies, if I may use such an expression, not content with seeing our ruin, endeavoured to taste it. One while edicts were published against those who, foreseeing the calamities that threatened our churches, and not having power to prevent them, desired only the sad consolation of not being spectators of their ruin. Another while, Aug. 1669, against those who, through weakness, had denied their religion, and who, not being able to bear the remorse of their consciences, desired to return to their first profession. One while, May, 1679, our pastors were forbidden to exercise their discipline on those of their flocks who had abjured the truth. Another while, June, 1680, children of seven years

of age were allowed to embrace doctrines, which the church of Rome allows are not level to the capacities of adults, June, 1681. A college was suppressed, and then a church shut up, Jan. 1683. Sometimes we were forbidden to convert infidels; and sometimes to confirm those in the truth, whom we had instructed from their infancy; and our pastors were forbidden to exercise their pastoral office any longer in one place than three years. Sometimes the printing of our books was prohibited, July, 1685; and sometimes those which we had printed were taken away. One while, we were not suffered to preach in a church, Sept. 1685; and another while we were punished for preaching on its ruins; and, at length, we were forbidden to worship God at all. Now, Oct. 1685, we were banished; then, 1689, we were forbidden to quit the kingdom on pain of death. Here we saw the glorious rewards of some who betrayed their religion; and there, we beheld others, who had the courage to confess it, haled to a dungeon, a scaffold, or a galley. Here, we saw our persecutors drawing on a sledge the dead bodies of those who had expired on the rack. There, we beheld a false friar tormenting a dying man, who was terrified, on the one hand, with the fear of hell, if he should apostatize, and, on the other, with the fear of leaving his children without bread, if he should continue in the faith: yonder, they were tearing children from their parents, while the tender parents were shedding more tears for the loss of their souls, than for that of their bodies or lives"

It is impossible to meet with parallel instances of cruelty among the heathens, in their persecutions of the primitive Christians. The bloody butchers, who were sent to them under the name of *dragoons*, invented a thousand torments to tire their patience, and to force an abjuration from them. "They cast some, says Mr. Claude, into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under the arm-pits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them like criminals on the rack, and poured wine with a funnel into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn Catholics. Some they slashed and cut with penknives, others they took by the nose with red-hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn Catholics." These cruel proceedings made eight hundred thousand persons quit the kingdom.

If the same actions may proceed from different principles, it must be always a hazardous and often an unjust attempt, to assign the true motives of men's conduct. But public actions fall under public notice, and they deserve censure or commendation, according to the obvious good or evil which they produce in society. The art of governing requires a superior genius, and a supe-

rior genius hides, like a lofty mountain, its summit in the clouds. In some cases, a want of capacity, and in others a fund of selfishness, would prevent a subject's comprehension of his prince's projects, and consequently, his approbation of his prince's measures; and, for these reasons, the cabinets of princes should be the least accessible, and their hearts the most impenetrable parts of their dominions: but when the prince would reduce his projects to practice, and cause his imaginations to become rules of action to his subjects, he ought to give a reason for his conduct; and, if his conduct be rational, he will do so; for, as all law is founded in reason, so reason is its best support. In such a case, the nature of the thing, as well as the respect that is due to the rank of the prince, would require us to be either mute or modest on the *motive;* and the same reasons would require us to consider the reasonableness, or unreasonableness of the *law;* for if it be not reason, it ought not to be law, and nothing can prevent our feeling the good or ill *effects* of the whole action.

Sometimes to disfranchise and to banish, to imprison and to execute, members of society, are partial evils: but they are also sometimes general benefits, and the excision of a part may be essential to the preservation of the whole. The inflicting of these punishments on the French Protestants might possibly be essential to the safety of the whole nation; or, perhaps his majesty might think it essential to monarchy; perhaps the clergy might thing it essential to orthodoxy; perhaps the financiers and the king's mistresses might think it essential to the making of their fortunes. But we have nothing to do with these private views; the questions are, Was it essential to the general safety and happiness of the kingdom? Was it agreeable to the unalterable dictates of right reason? Was it consistent with the sound approved maxims of civil polity? In these views, we venture to say, that the repeal of the Edict of Nantz, which had been the security of the Protestants, was an action irrational and irreligious, inhuman and ungrateful, perfidious, impolitic, and weak. If respect to religion and right reason were to compose a just title for the perpetrator of such a crime, it might call him a *most inhuman tyrant;* certainly it would not call him a *most Christian king.*

It was an *irrational* act; for there was no fitness between the punishment and the supposed crime. The crime was a mental error: but penal laws have no internal operation on the mind. It was *irreligious;* for religion ends where persecution begins. An action may begin in religion: but when it proceeds to injure a person, it ceaseth to be religion; it is only a denomination, and a method of acting. It was *inhuman;* for it caused the most savage cruelties. It was as *ungrateful* in the house of Bourbon

to murder their old supporters, as it was magnanimous in the Protestants, under their severest persecutions, to tell their murderer, they "thought that blood well employed, which had been spilt in supporting the just claim of the house of Bourbon to the throne." It was, to the last degree, *perfidious*; for the Edict of Nantz had been given by Henry IV. for a PERPETUAL and IRREVOCABLE decree; it had been confirmed by the succeeding princes, and Louis XIV. himself had assigned, in the declaration, the loyalty of the Protestants, as a reason of the confirmation: "My subjects of the pretended reformed religion (says he) have given me unquestionable proofs of their affection and loyalty." It had been sworn to by the governors and lieutenants-general of the provinces, by the courts of parliament, and by all the officers of the courts of justice. What national perjury! Is it enough to say, as this perjured monarch did, "My grandfather, Henry IV. loved you, and was obliged to you. My father, Louis XIII. feared you, and wanted your assistance. But I neither love you nor fear you, and do not want your services!" The *ill policy* of it is confessed on all sides. Where is the policy of banishing eight hundred thousand people, who declare that a free exercise of religion ought not to injure any man's civil rights, and, on this principle, support the king's claim to the crown, as long as he executes the duty of his office? Where is the policy of doing this, in order to secure a set of men who openly avow these propositions, "The pope is superior to all law: It is right to kill that prince whom the pope excommunicates: If a prince become an Arian, the people ought to depose him?" Where is the policy of banishing men, whose doctrines have kept in the kingdom, during the space of two hundred and fifty years, the sum of two hundred and fifty millions of livres, which, at a moderate calculation, would otherwise have gone to Rome for indulgencies and annats, and such other trash? Who was the politician, the count d'Avaux, who, while he was ambassador in Holland, from 1685 to 1688, offered to prove that the refugees had carried out of France more than twenty millions of property, and advised the king to recall it, by recalling its owners; or the king, who refused to avail himself of this advice? Who was the politician, the intolerant Louis, who drove his Protestant soldiers and sailors out of his service, or the benevolent prince of Orange, who, in one year, raised three regiments of French refugee soldiers, commanded by their own officers, and manned three vessels, at the same time, with refugee sailors, to serve the Dutch, while France wanted men to equip her fleets? The Protestants having been for some time excluded from all offices, and not being suffered to enjoy any civil or military employments, had applied themselves either to manufactures, or to the improvement of their

money in trade; was it policy to banish a M. Vincent, who employed more than five hundred workmen? Was policy on the side of that prince, who demolished manufactories; or, on the side of those who set them up, by receiving the refugee manufacturers into their kingdoms? Had England derived no more advantage from its hospitality to the refugees than the silk manufacture, 1698, it would have amply repaid the nation.—The memorials of the intendants of the provinces were full of such complaints. The intendant of Rouen said, the refugees had carried away the manufacture of hats. The intendant of Poitiers said, they had taken away the manufacture of druggets. In some provinces the commerce was diminished several millions of livres in a year, and, in some, half the revenue was sunk. Was it policy in the king to provoke the Protestant states and princes, who had always been his faithful allies against the house of Austria, and, at the same time, to supply them with eight hundred thousand new subjects? After all, it was a *weak* and foolish step; for the Protestants were not extirpated. There remained almost as many in the kingdom as were driven out of it, and, even at this day, though now and then a preacher hath been hanged, and now and then a family murdered, yet the opulent province of Languedoc is full of Protestants; the Lutherans have the university of Alsace; neither art nor cruelty can rid the kingdom of them, and some of the greatest ornaments of France have pleaded for a FREE TOLERATION.

The refugees charge their banishment on the *clergy* of France, and they give very good proof of their assertion; nor do they mistake, when they affirm, that their sufferings are a part of the *religion* of Rome: for pope Innocent XI. highly approved of this persecution. He wrote a brief to the king, in which he assured him, that what he had done against the heretics of his kingdom would be immortalized by the eulogies of the Catholic church. He delivered a discourse in the consistory, May 18, 1689, in which he said, "The most Christian king's zeal and PIETY, did wonderfully appear in extirpating heresy, and in clearing his whole kingdom of it in a very few months." He ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, to give thanks to God for this return of the heretics into the pale of the church; which was accordingly done with great pomp, April 28. If this persecution were clerical policy, it was bad; and, if it were the religion of the French clergy, it was worse. In either case the church procured great evil to the state. Louis XIV. was on the pinnacle of glory at the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, 1679; his dominion was, as it were, established all over Europe, and was become an inevitable prejudice to neighbouring nations: but here he began to extirpate what was called *heresy*, i. e. *Protestantism*,

and here he began to fall, nor has the nation fully recovered its grandeur since.

Protestant powers opened their arms to these venerable exiles. Abbadie, Ancillon, and others, fled to Berlin. Basnage, Claude, Du Bosc, and many more, found refuge in Holland. The famous Dr. Allix, with numbers of his brethren, came to England. A great many families went to Geneva, among whom was that of Saurin.

Account of the Persecutions in France, previous to, and during the Civil Wars of that Nation.

Almericus, a learned man, and six of his disciples, were, in the third century, ordered to be burnt at Paris, for holding the tenets, that God was no more present in the sacramental bread, than in any other bread; that it was idolatry to build altars, or shrines, to saints; ridiculous to offer incense to saints; and absurd to kiss the relics of saints. The martyrdom of Almericus and his pupils did not prevent any from acknowledging the justice of his notions, so that the faith of Christ continued to increase; and, in time, it not only spread over many parts of France, but over various other nations.

In the year 1524, at a town in France called Melden, one *John Clark* affixed a bill on the church door, in which he called the pope antichrist; for which offence he was repeatedly whipped, and then branded in the forehead. His mother, who saw the chastisement, cried with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ, and welcome these marks for his sake." He went afterwards to Metz, in Lorraine, and demolished some images, for which he had his right hand and nose cut off, and his arms and breast torn by pincers: while suffering these cruelties, he was even sufficiently at ease to sing the 115th psalm, which expressly forbids superstition. On concluding the psalm, he was thrown into the fire, and burnt to ashes.

About the same time, several persons of the reformed persuasion were beaten, racked, scourged, and burnt to death, in several parts of France; but particularly at Paris, Limosin, and Malda.

A native of Malda was burnt by a slow fire, for saying that mass was a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. At Limosin, *John de Cadurco*, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt. When under examination, a friar undertook to preach a sermon upon the occasion: when opening the New Testament, he pitched upon this text, in the first epistle of St. Paul the apostle to Timothy, chap. iv. 1, "Now the spirit speaketh expressly, that in

the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." The friar began to expound this verse in favour of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in condemnation of the reformed religion, when John de Cadurco begged, that before he proceeded in his sermon, he would read the two verses which followed that he had chosen for his text:—the friar again opened the Testament, but, on casting his eye on the passage, he appeared confounded. Cadurco then desired that the book might be handed to him; this request being complied with, he read thus: "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." The Roman Catholics, irritated at this exposure, condemned him to the flames.

At Paris, *Alexander Kanus*, a reformed clergyman, was burnt in a slow fire; and four men were committed to the flames for distributing papers that ridiculed the saying of mass. One had his tongue bored through, for ridiculing the Romish superstitions. *Peter Gaudet*, a Genoese, was burnt by the desire of his own uncle, a bigotted Roman Catholic; and *John Pointer*, a surgeon, had his tongue cut out, and then was burnt.

At Arras, Foutanis, and Rutiers, many were martyred for being of the reformed religion; at the latter place, in particular, one *Stephen Brune* was condemned to be burnt for refusing to attend mass. When the fire was kindled, the flames were driven from him by a brisk wind, which occasioned the executioner to heap more faggots round him, and pour oil on them. Still, however, the wind blew the flames into a contrary direction, when the executioner was absurdly enraged with Brune, and struck him on the head; but Brune very calmly said, "As I am condemned only to be burnt, why do you strike me like a dog?" This expression so greatly enraged the executioner, that he ran him through with a pike, and then burnt the lifeless body.

Husson, an apothecary of Blois, went to Rouen, and there privately distributed several small pamphlets, explaining the tenets of the reformed church, and exposing the Romish superstitions. These books gave a general alarm, and a council being called, an order was issued for search to be made for the author and distributer. It was discovered that Husson had brought them to Rouen, and that he was gone to Dieppe, and orders were given for a pursuit. Husson was brought back to Rouen, where he confessed he was both author and distributer of the books. This occasioned his condemnation, and he was executed in the following manner: his tongue being cut out, his hands and feet were tied behind, and he was drawn up by a pulley to a gibbet, and then let down

into a fire kindled beneath; in which situation he called upon the Lord, and soon breathed his last.

Aymond de Lavoy, burnt at Bourdeaux, 1543, preached the gospel at St. Faith's, in Anjou, where he was accused by the parish-priest there, and by other priests, to have taught false doctrine, to the great decay of their gains. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Bourdeaux had given commandment, and had sent out their apparitors to apprehend him; he, having intelligence thereof, was willed by his friends to flee, and shift for himself. But he would not, saying, he had rather never have been born than so to do. It was the office of a good shepherd, he said, not to flee in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered; or else, lest, peradventure, in so doing, he should leave some scruple in their minds, thus to think, that he fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Wherefore, beseeching them to move him no more, he told them that he feared not to yield up both body and soul in the quarrel of that truth which he had taught; saying, with St. Paul, "That he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, in the city of Bourdeaux, but also to die," Acts xxi.

To contract the long story hereof to a brief narration: The sumner came, and was in the city three days, during which time Aymond preached three sermons. The people, in defence of their preacher, flew upon the sumner, to deliver him out of his hands. But Aymond desired them not to stop his martyrdom, seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him; he would not, he said, resist.—Then the consuls permitted the sumner, and so Aymond was carried to Bourdeaux; where many witnesses, the most part priests, came in against him, with Mr. Riverack also, and his servant; which Riverack had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false witnesses; but they would not be taken. All their accusation was, only for denying purgatory.—About nine months he remained in prison, in great misery, bewailing his former life, although there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime.

Then came down letters; whereupon the judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and, shaking him by the beard, bade him tell what fellows he had of his religion. To whom he answered, saying, that he had no other fellows, but such as knew and did the will of God his Father, whether they were nobles, merchants, or husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were.

In these torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself: This body, said he, once must die, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abideth for ever. In the time of his tormenting he swooned: afterward, coming to himself again, he said, O Lord, Lord, why hast thou forsaken me? To whom the president said, Nay, wicked Lutheran, thou hast forsaken God. Then said Aymond, Alas! good masters, why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord, I beseech thee, forgive them, they know not what they do. See, said the president, this caitiff, how he prayeth for us. Nevertheless, so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one man's name, saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.

On the next Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was given against him.—Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession; whom he refused, choosing one of his own order, the parish-priest of St. Christopher's, bidding the friars depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. Do you not see, said he, how I am troubled enough with men, will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my body, will ye also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you. At last, when he could not be suffered to have the parish-priest, he then took a certain Carmelite, bidding the rest to depart; with whom, he having long talked, at last did convert him to the truth. Shortly after that, came unto him the judges, Cassanges and Longa, with other counsellors: to whom the said Aymond began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's supper: but Longa, interrupting him, demanded of him thus:

Judge. First declare unto us your mind; what you think of purgatory?

Martyr. In Scripture all these are one, to purge, to cleanse, and to wash. Whereof we read in Isaiah, in the epistles of St. Paul, and of St. Peter, "He hath washed you in his blood. Ye are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ," &c. And how often do we read, in the epistles of St. Paul, "That we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins," &c.

Judge. These epistles are known to every child.

Martyr. To every child! nay, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself.

A friar. Mr. Aymond, with one word you may satisfy them, if you will say, That there is a place where the souls are purged after this life.

Martyr. That I leave for you to say, if you please. What! would you have me damn my own soul, and to say that which I know not?

Judge. Dost not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou shalt go to purgatory? and he that died in venial sin, that he shall pass straight into paradise?

Martyr. Such trust I have in my God, that the same day when I shall die, I shall enter into paradise.

Another judge. Where is paradise?

Martyr. There where the majesty and glory of God is?

Judge. The canons do make mention of purgatory; and you, in your sermons, have used always much to pray for the poor.

Martyr. I have preached the word of God, and not the canons.

Judge. Dost thou believe in the church?

Martyr. I believe as the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, hath appointed.

Judge. What church is that?

Martyr. The Church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a Congregation or Assembly; and so I say, that whensoever the faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying the Christian religion, the Holy Ghost is verily with them.

Judge. By this it should follow, that there be many churches: and wherever any rustical clowns do assemble together, there must be a church.

Martyr. It is no absurd thing to say, that there be many churches or congregations amongst the Christians; and so speaketh St. Paul, "To all the churches which are in Galatia," &c. and yet all these congregations make but one church.

The judges. The church wherein thou believest, is it not the same church which our creed doth call the *holy church?*

Martyr. I believe the same.

Judge. And who should be head of that church?

Martyr. Jesus Christ.

Judge. And not the pope?

Martyr. No.

Judge. And what is he then?

Martyr. A minister, if he be a good man, as other bishops be: of whom St. Paul thus writeth, 1 Cor. iv. 1. "Let a man so esteem us as ministers and dispensers of the secrets of God," &c.

Judge. What then, dost thou not believe the pope?

Martyr. I know not what he is.

Judge. Dost thou not believe that he is the successor of Peter?

Martyr. If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter upon the true rock of Christ Jesus, so I believe his works and ordinances to be good.

Then the judges, leaving him with the friars, departed from him, counting him as a damned creature. Notwithstanding,

Aymond, putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying, with St. Paul, Who shall separate me from the love of God? Shall the sword, hunger, or nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him. But rather I have pity of you, said he. And so they departed.

Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way the 114th psalm; and as he passed by the place where he had before been imprisoned, he called to his fellow-prisoners, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord; and told them, that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries unto the president. He thanked, moreover, the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. And so taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him, also giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her gentleness shewed to him, he proceeded forward toward his execution. As he came against the church of St. Andrew, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. I ask mercy, said he, of God and his justice; but the blessed St. Mary I never offended, nor did any thing for which I should ask her mercy. From thence he passed forward to the church of St. Legia, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the soldiers to the driver, or carter, willing him to drive apace; for here is preaching, said he, enough. To whom said Aymond, "He that is of God, heareth the word of God," &c. In passing by a certain image of our Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her. Whereupon he lifted up his voice to God, praying that he would never suffer him to invocate any other save him alone.

Coming to the place where he should suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to the magistrates and to the people standing by, that he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and for his word. More he would have spoken, but he could not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the officers, crying, "Despatch him! despatch him! let him not speak!" Then he speaking a few words softly in the ear of a little Carmelite, whom he had converted, was bid to step up to the stage; where the people beginning to give a little audience, thus he said: "O Lord, make haste to help me, tarry not, do not despise the works of thy hands. And you my brethren, that are students and scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel: for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power upon your souls." And, after that, "My flesh, (said he) repugneth marvellously against the spirit; but shortly I shall cast it away. My good masters, I beseech ye pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my soul." As he

was oft repeating the same, the hangman took and haled him upon the steps in such sort that he strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life: whose body afterward was consumed with fire.

Fourteen persons, who dwelt at Melda, a city in France, ten miles from Paris, where William Briconatus was bishop, were brought to the light of the gospel, in the reformed church. Who being strictly examined for the same, relented: but yet these, with many others, remained constant; who, after the burning of one James Pavane, and seeing superstition to grow more and more, began to assemble in Mangin's house, and to set up a church to themselves, after the example of the French church in Strasbourg. For their minister they chose Peter Clerk. First, they beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in a short time, to three or four hundred. Whereupon the matter being known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where they were, and they taken. Of whom sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms, especially the 79th. To these it was chiefly objected, that they, being laymen, would minister the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

Of these sixty-two, fourteen did chiefly stand fast, which were condemned and racked to discover their fellows; but they uttered none: the rest were scourged, and banished the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted, but that would not be. Then, being sent in a cart to Melda, or Meaux, to be burned, by the way, three miles from Paris, a certain weaver of Couberon, by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cleave fast unto the Lord; who also was taken and bound with them in the cart. Coming to the place of execution, which was before Mangin's house, it was told them, That they which would be confessed should not have their tongues cut out, the others should. Of whom seven there were, who, to save their tongues, confessed; other seven would not. Of the first was Stephen Mangin, who, having his tongue first cut, notwithstanding spake so that he might be understood, saying thrice, The Lord's name be blessed. As they were in burning, the people sung psalms. The priests, seeing that, would also sing their songs, *O salutaris hostia*, and *Salve Regina*, while the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wives being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were after put in prison, from whence they being promised to be let go, if they would say their husbands were damned, refused.

Peter Chapot was first a corrector to a printer in Paris: after he had been at Geneva, to do good to the church of Christ, like

a good man, he came with books of the holy Scripture into France, and dispersed them abroad unto the faithful. Which great zeal of his caused him to be apprehended by John Andre, who was the common promoter to Liset the president, and to the Sorbonists.

This good Chapot being taken and brought before the commissaries, rendered promptly an account of his faith: unto whom he exhibited a supplication, or writing, wherein he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Then were three doctors of Sorbonne assigned, Nicholas Clerici, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to dispute with him: who, when they could find no advantage, but rather shame, at his hands, they were angry with the judges for setting them to dispute with heretics.

This done, the judges consulting together upon his condemnation, could not agree: so that Chapot, as it seemed, might have escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the process, sought and wrought out his condemnation; which was at length concluded thus: That he should be burned alive, only the cutting out of his tongue was pardoned. The doctor appointed to be at his execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly incumbered; for this friar called upon him still not to speak to the people, but he desired him that he might pray. Then he bade him pray to our Lady, and confess her to be his advocate. He confessed that she was a blessed virgin, and recited the Lord's prayer, and the creed, and was about to speak of the mass; but Maillard would not let him, making haste to his execution, and said, unless he would say, *Ave Maria*, he should be burnt alive.

Then Chapot prayed, O Jesus, son of David, have mercy upon me! Maillard then bade him say, *Jesus Maria;* and so he should be strangled. Chapot, again excused, that he was so weak that he could not speak. Say, said Maillard, *Jesus Maria*, or else thou shalt be burnt alive. As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, suddenly, as it happened, *Jesus Maria* escaped out of his mouth; but he, by and by repressing himself, O God, said he, what have I done! pardon me, O Lord! to thee only have I sinned. Then Maillard commanded the cord to be plucked about his neck to strangle him.

After all things done, Maillard, all full of anger, went to the council-house, called *La Chambre Ardante*, (the Fire-office) declaring what an uproar had happened amongst the people; saying, that he would complain upon the judges, for suffering those heretics to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a decree was made, that all which were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut out. Which law was diligently afterward observed. *Ex Johanne Crispino. lib.* 6.

Stephen Polliot, coming out of Normandy, where he was born, unto Meaux, tarried not there long, but was compelled to flee, and went to a town called Fera, where he was apprehended, and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison. In which prison he was kept in fetters a long space, where he saw almost no light.

At length being called before the senate, and his sentence given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his satchel of books hanging about his neck: "O Lord, (said he) is the world in blindness and darkness still?" For he thought, being in prison so long, that the world had been altered from its old darkness to better knowledge. At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ, having his books about his neck, was put into the fire, where he, with much patience, ended this transitory life.

Octovien Blondel, a merchant of precious stones, was a great occupier in all fairs and countries of France, and well known both in court and elsewhere; so was he a man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's word. Who, being at his host's house at Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk and superstitious behaviour which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the host, bearing him a grudge, chanced to have certain talk with Gabriel, of Sacconex, presenteur, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels, of this Octovien.

Thus these two consulting together, did subborn a certain person to borrow of him a certain sum of crowns; which because Octovien refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to make attachment of his goods. But such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated in their purpose. Then Blondel being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine which he had learned; for which he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners. For some that were in debt, he paid their creditors, and loosed them out. To some he gave meat, to others raiment.

At length through the importunate persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave over, and changed his confession. Notwithstanding, the presenteur not leaving so, appealed him up to the high court of Paris. There Octovien being asked again touching his faith, which of the two confessions he would stick to? He being before admonished of his fall, and of the offence given thereby to the faithful, said, He would live and die in his first confession; which he defended to be consonant to the verity of God's word. Which done, he was condemned to be burnt; and so haste was made to his execution, lest his friends in the court might come between, and save his life.

Michael Michelot being told either to recant and be beheaded, or to persevere and be burned; he chose the latter, making use of these words: "God has given me grace not to deny the truth, and will give me strength to endure the fire." About the same time, many were burnt at Paris, Bar, &c.; and at Langres, five men and two women suffered for being of the reformed religion; when the youngest woman encouraged the other, saying, "This day shall we be married to Jesus Christ, and be with him for ever."

A lady named *Anne Audebert*, who designed, on account of her faith, to retire to Geneva, was seized and sent to Paris. She was led to execution by a rope placed round her waist. This rope she called her wedding girdle; and, as it was on a Saturday, she said, "I was once married to a man on a Saturday, and now I shall be married to God on the same day of the week."

Immediately after the coronation of Henry II. king of France, many singular circumstances happened. A tailor was apprehended for working on a saint's day; being asked why he gave such an offence to religion, his reply was, "I am a poor man, and have nothing but my labour to depend upon, necessity requires that I should be industrious, and my conscience tells me there is no day but the sabbath which I ought to keep sacred from labour." Having expressed himself thus, he was committed to prison, and the affair being soon after rumoured at court, some of the nobles persuaded the king to be present at the trial. On the day appointed, the monarch appeared in a superb chair of state, and the bishop of Mascon was ordered to interrogate the prisoner. The tailor, on perceiving the king, paid his obedience to him in a most respectful manner. The king was much affected with his arguments, and seemed to muse; on which the bishop exclaimed, "He is an obstinate and impudent heretic; let him be taken back again to prison, and burnt to death." The officers proceeded to do that duty, and the bishop artfully insinuated, that the heretics, as he called the reformed, had many specious arguments, which, at first hearing, appeared conclusive; but, on examination, they were found to be false. He then did his utmost endeavours to persuade the king to be present at the execution, who at length consented, and repaired to a balcony which overlooked the place. On seeing the king, the tailor fixed his eyes steadfastly upon him, and even while the flames were consuming him, kept gazing in such a manner, as threw the monarch into visible confusion, and obliged him to retire before the martyr was dead. The king was even so shocked, that he could not recover his spirits for some time; and what added to his disquiet was, his continually dreaming, for

many nights, that he saw the tailor with his eyes fixed upon him, in the same manner as during the execution.

A pious man, named *Claudius*, was burnt at Orleans: a Genoese youth, called *Thomas*, having rebuked a Roman Catholic for profanely swearing, was informed against an an heretic, and burnt at Paris; as were three men at Lyons, on being condemned for their religion: two of them with ropes about their necks; but the third, having been an officer in the king's service, was exempted from that disgrace. He, however, begged to be treated in the same manner as his companions, in honour of the Lord: his request was complied with; and, after having sung a psalm with great fervency, they were all three consumed.

A citizen of Geneva, *Simon Laloe*, *Matthew Dimonat*, a converted libertine, and *Nicholas Naile*, a bookseller of Paris, were burnt for professing the reformed religion. *Peter Serre* was originally a priest, but reflecting on the errors of popery, he, at length, embraced the reformed religion, and learned the trade of a shoemaker. Having a brother at Toulouse, who was a bigoted Roman Catholic, Serre, out of fraternal love, made a journey to that city, in order to dissuade him from his superstitions: the brother's wife, not approving of his design, lodged a complaint against him, on which he was apprehended, and made a full declaration of his faith. The judge asked him concerning his occupation, to which he replied, "I have of late practised the trade of a shoemaker."—"Of late!" said the judge; "and what did you practise formerly?"—That I am almost ashamed to tell you," exclaimed Serre, "because it was the vilest and most wicked occupation imaginable." The judge and all who were present, from these words, supposed he had been a murderer or thief, and that what he spoke was through contrition. The judge, however, ordered him to explain precisely what he meant; when Serre, with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, "O! I was formerly a Popish Priest!" This reply so much exasperated the judge, that he condemned Serre to be first degraded, then to have his tongue cut, and afterwards to be publickly burnt.

John Joyer, and his *servant*, a young man, coming from Geneva with certain books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to Toulouse, where the master was first condemned. The servant, being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his master, saying that he should answer them. When they were brought up to the stake, the young man, first going up, began to weep. The master, fearing lest he would give up, ran to him, and he was comforted; and they began to sing. As they were in the fire, the master standing upright to the stake, he shifted the fire from him to his servant, being more

careful for him than for himself; and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and so expired.

Martial Alba, *Petrus Scriba*, *Bernard Seguine*, *Charles Faber*, and *Peter Navihere*, five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne a certain time, consulted among themselves, being all Frenchmen, to return home, every one to his country, to the intent they might instruct their parents and friends, in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So taking their journey from Lausanne, first they came to Geneva, where they remained a while. From thence they went to Lyons, where they sitting at the table of one that met them by the way, and desired them home to his house, were apprehended, and led to prison; where they continued a whole year. As they were learned, and well exercised in the Scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith; and, with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed, especially Peter Scribe, or Scrivener, and Seguine.

Friar. Thou sayest, friend, in thy confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church: I will prove the contrary. The pope is successor of St. Peter: ergo, he is supreme head of the church.

Martyr. I deny first your antecedent.

F. The pope sitteth in the place of St. Peter: ergo, he is the successor of St. Peter.

M. I will grant neither; first, because he that succeedeth in the room of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did, which thing the pope doth not. Secondly, although he did so preach as Peter did, yet should he not therefore be the head of the church, but a member only of the same. The head of men and angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith St. Paul.

F. Although Christ be the head of the whole church militant and triumphant, yet his vicar here on earth is left to supply his room.

M. Not so; for the power of his divinity being so great, to fill all things, he needeth no vicar or deputy to supply his absence.

Then another friar. Thou sayest, St. Peter is not the head of the church; I will prove he is. Our Lord said to Peter, "Thou shalt be called Cephas;" which Cephas is as much as to say in Latin, Head: ergo, Peter is head of the church.

M. Where find you that interpretation? St. John, in his first chapter, doth expound it otherwise, "Thou shalt be called Cephas;" that is as much, saith he, as *Petrus*, or stone.

Then the judge, Vilardus, calling for a New Testament, turned

to the place and found it to be so. Whereupon the friar was utterly dashed and stood mute.

F. Thou sayest, in thy confession, that we are justified only by faith; I will prove that we are justified by works. By our works we do merit: ergo, by works we are justified.

M. I deny the antecedent.

F. St. Paul, Hebrews the last, saith, *Forget not to do good, and distribute unto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus:* that is, *For by such oblations God is merited.* We merit God by our works; ergo, we are justified by our works.

M. The words of St. Paul in that place be otherwise, and are thus to be translated: *Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus:* that is, *With such sacrifices God is delighted,* or, *is well pleased.*

Vilard, the judge, turned the book, and found the place even to be so as the prisoner said. Here the friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds. Of whom one asked him, What he thought of confession?

M. Confession is only to be made to God; and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and others, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation between one another, and not of confession in the priest's ear. And here again the friars stood, having nothing to say against it.

A black friar. Dost thou not believe the body of Christ to be locally and corporally in the sacrament? I will prove the same: Jesus Christ, taking bread, said, *This is my body;* ergo, it is truly his body.

M. The verb *est* is not to be taken here substantively in its own proper signification, as shewing the nature of a thing in substance, as in philosophy it is wont to be taken: but as noting the property of any thing, signifying after the manner and phrase of the Scripture, where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the thing is called by the name of the thing signified, &c. So is circumcision called by the name of the covenant, and yet is not the covenant. So the Lamb has the name of the passover, yet is not the same. In which two sacraments of the old law, ye see the verb *(est)* to be taken not as shewing the substance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is spoken of: and so likewise in the sacrament of the new law.

F. The sacraments of the old law, and of the new, do differ greatly; for these give grace, so did not the other.

M. Neither the sacrament of the old, nor of the new law, do give grace, but shew him unto us who giveth grace indeed. The minister giveth the sacraments, but Jesus Christ giveth grace by the operation of the Holy Ghost; of whom it is said, "This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost," &c.

F. The fathers of the Old Testament, were they not partakers of the same grace and promises with us?

M. Yes; for St. Paul saith, that the fathers of the Old Testament did eat the same spiritual meat, and did drink the same spiritual drink with us.

F. Jesus Christ saith, (John the sixth,) "Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead." Ergo, they were not partakers of the same grace with us, in the New Testament.

M. Christ here speaketh of them which did not eat that manna with faith, which was a type and figure of that bread of life that came from heaven; and not of them which did eat the same with faith, as Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Caleb, and such others, who, under the shadows of the Old Testament, did look for Christ to come. For so it is written of Abraham, "That he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced;" not seeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his faith.

Here the doltish doctor was at a stay, having nothing to say, but, Hear, friend! be not so hot, nor so hasty; tarry awhile, tarry awhile. At length, after his tarrying, this came out:

F. I will prove that they of the Old Testament were not partakers of the same grace with us. *The law* (saith St. Paul) *worketh wrath.* And they that are under the law, are under malediction: ergo, they of the old law and testament, were not partakers of the same grace with us.

M. St. Paul here proveth, that no man by the law can be justified, but that all men are under the wrath and curse of God thereby, forsomuch as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended: and therefore we have need every man to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing no man can be saved by the law. For whosoever trusteth to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not by Christ only, the same remaineth still under malediction; not because the law is cursed, or the times thereof under the curse, but because of the weakness of our natures, which are not able to perform the law.

F. St. Paul, Rom. vii. declareth in the Old Testament to be nothing but anger and threatenings, and in the New Testament to be grace and mercy; in these words, where he saith, "Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The grace of God by Jesus Christ.

M. St. Paul in this place neither meaneth or speaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Testament, but of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; so that whereas the flesh is ever rebelling against the spirit, yet the spiritual man notwithstanding, through the faith of Christ hath the victory. Furthermore, the true translation of that place hath not *Gratia Dei*, but *Gratias ago Deum, per Jesum Christum*, &c.

Primacius, the official, seeing the friar almost here at a point, set in, and said, Thou lewd heretic, dost thou deny the blessed sacrament?

M. No, sir; but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, so as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles.

The official. Thou deniest the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and thou callest the sacrament bread.

M. The Scripture teacheth us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not in earth; where we read, Coloss. iii. "If ye be risen with Christ, seek not for the things which are upon the earth; but for the things which are in heaven, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God," &c. And whereas I affirm the sacrament not to be the body, but bread; speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, herein I do no other but as St. Paul doth, who, 1 Cor. xi. doth call it bread likewise, four or five times together.

F. Jesus Christ said, that he was the bread of life.

The official. Thou naughty heretic, Jesus Christ said, that he was a vine, and a door, &c. where he is to be expounded to speak figuratively: but the words of the sacrament are not so to be expounded.

M. Those testimonies which you allege, make more for me than for you.

The official. What sayest thou, lewd heretic? Is the bread of the Lord's supper, and the bread that we eat at home, all one? and is there no difference between them?

M. In nature and substance there is no difference, but in use there is much difference. For the bread of the Lord's table, though it be of the same nature and substance with the bread that we eat at home, yet, when it is applied to be a sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is set before us to seal the promise of our spiritual and eternal life.

Thus they were examined concerning the sacrament of the Lord's body, of purgatory, of confession and invocation, of free-will, and of the supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cause by good Scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being over-come by might, sentence was given, and they were burned in the said town of Lyons.

Being set upon the cart, they began to sing psalms. As they passed by the market-place, one of them, with a loud voice, saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews, "The God of peace, which brought again from death the great Shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant," &c.

Coming to the place, first the two youngest, one after another, went up upon the heap of wood to the stake, and there

were fastened; and so after them the rest. Martial Alba being the eldest, was the last, who likewise being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, desired this petition of the governor, which was, that he might go about his fellows tied at the stake, and kiss them. Which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, "Farewell, my brother!" Likewise the other four, following the like example, said to each one, "Farewell, my brother!" With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their necks, thinking first to strangle them; but their faces being smeared with fat and brimstone, the rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheer; and so departed.—Ex Crisp. Pant. &c.

About the same time, when these five students above specified were apprehended, *Bergerius* also was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made also the like confession with them together, and shortly after them suffered the same martyrdom. He had been before, a merchant of wines. He had a wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters.

In the dungeon with him was a certain thief and malefactor, who had lain there the space of seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment, cried out of God, and cursed his parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with such bread as dogs and horses had refused to eat. So it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayer of this Bergerius, he was brought to repentance and the knowledge of God, learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached to him. Touching his conversion, he wrote a sweet letter to those five students above-mentioned, wherein he praised God for them, and especially for this: Bergerius declaring also in the same letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the gospel, and framed himself to patience according to the same, the vermin, which before almost devoured him, entirely left him. Furtherfore, the alms of good men were so extended towards him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good. Such is the goodness of the Lord toward them that love and seek his truth. The name of this convert was *John Chambone*. Crisp. Pantal. &c.

Nicholas Nayle, a shoemaker, coming to Paris with certain bundles of books, was there apprehended; who stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, was tried with sundry torments, to tell what companions he had besides of his profession, so that his body was dissolved almost one joint from another: but so

steadfast was he in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the hinder part of his head so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face greatly. By the way they passed by an hospital, where they willed him to worship the picture of St. Mary standing at the gate; but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For which the blind people were so enraged, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so besmeared his body with fat and brimstone, that, at the first taking of the fire, all the skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so this blessed martyr departed.—Ex Jo. Crisp.

William Alencon, bookseller, did much good in the provinces of France, by carrying books. Coming to Montpelliers, he was there circumvented by false brethren, detected, and laid in prison. In his faith he was firm and constant, to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the 7th of January, 1554.

There was at the same time at Montpelliers, a certain sheerman, or clothworker, who had been long in prison for religion, but at length for fear he revolted; to whom it was enjoined by the judges to make public recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alencon aforesaid. At the beholding of whose death and constancy, it pleased God to strike into this man such boldness, that he desired the judges, that either he might burn with this Alencon, or else be brought again into prison, saying, that he would make no other recantation. Wherefore, within three days after, he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned.

Johannes Filieul or *Filiolus*, carpenter, and *Julianus le Ville*, point-maker, blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneva, with one of their sons and a daughter, were apprehended by Giles le Pers; who, in the way overtaking them, and most wickedly, like Judas, pretending great favour to them, and to their religion, which he, as he said, supposed them to be of, with these, and many other fair words, circumvented and allured them to confess what was their faith, whither they went with their children, and also that their wives were at Geneva. When they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a sign to the horsemen; and so were these simple saints of Christ entrapped and brought to the castle of Nivern. Being in prison, they were examined of many things, whereunto they answered uprightly, according to their faith.

First, Touching the sacrament, they affirmed the transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome to be against the article of the creed, which saith, that Christ is gone up to heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God; and therefore the bread and wine must needs remain in their properties, being notwithstanding a sacrament, or an holy sign of the body and blood of the Lord. For like as by bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed spiritually, hath the like operation in the souls of the believers.

For the mass they said, it was a thing most superstitious, and mere idolatry. And if we put any part of salvation therein, they said, it was utterly robbing the passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a Christian mouth. Also, that they who say that Peter either was pope, or author of the said mass, are far deceived. And as for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an error; forasmuch as God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or exorcisms of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the blood of Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the saints of God of their due honour, so neither the saints themselves, said they, will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.

As touching confession, their opinion was, that conscience belongs to no man, but only to God.

After these answers given and written, they were sent to the monastery of Sanpeter, there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the judges, what was to be done with them. Some would have their goods taken by inventory, and them to be banished; but Bergeronius at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to hear mass.

From that court they appealed to the court of Paris; but the matter there was nothing mended. Where behold the judgment of God; in the mean time, while they were at Paris, the wretched persecutor, Giles le Pers, was suddenly struck mad, and died in a frenzy; which made many men to wonder, and especially the martyrs to be more steadfast.

At last the decree of the sentence was read against them. 1. For speaking against the sacrament; which they denied. 2. For speaking against baptism; which also they denied. 3. For speaking contumeliously against the saints; which they in like manner denied.

After this, the officer, to cause them to recant, put them to extreme torture, which they sustained from after dinner till three o'clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a Dominic friar, a man captious and sophistical, to press them in

disputation. But as he could do no hurt unto them, so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the officer aforesaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden cross, which they took with their teeth, and flung it away; for which the officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Wherein appeared another marvellous work of the Lord: for nevertheless that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, saying, "We bid sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil, farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereafter." Divers other words they spake besides, which the people did hear and note. At last, when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, Go to, (said Filiolus) salt on, salt on the rotten flesh. Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they continued firm in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdom.

In the same year suffered at Rouen, *Denis Vayre*, who, first leaving his popish priesthood, went to Geneva, where he learned the art of book-binding, and brought many times books into France. After that, in the reign of king Edward VI. he came to Jersey, and there was minister, and preached. After the death of king Edward, the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to return again to Geneva, he came into Normandy with his books, into a town called Fueille; when he going out to hire a cart, William Langlois, with John Langlois, his brother, came in and stayed his books, and him also who had the custody of them. Denis, although he might have escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his books to be in trouble, came, and presenting himself, was committed; the other was delivered.

After two months and a half imprisonment, he was charged to be a spy, because he came out of England. Then from that prison he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Rouen; where sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thrice lifted up and let down again into the fire. After the sentence given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom he answered, That the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that religion; notwithstanding, he would utter no man's name unto them; and as for their torments, he said he valued them not, for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw he cared so little for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning. And first, they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then, because he, coming by the image of the Virgin Mary, would not adore the same,

they cried, Cut out his tongue! And so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken up: but the flame went so high, that the hangman, not being able to come near him, cried to the people standing by, to help, and so did the officers with their staves lay upon the people to help their tormentors; but never a man would stir. And this was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.—Ex Henric. Pantal. l. 10.

There was a rich merchant of Paris, who said in jest to the friars of St. Francis, You wear a rope about your bodies, because St. Francis once should have been hanged, and the pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope. Upon this, the Franciscan friars of Paris caused him to be apprehended, and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant, and so did. The friars, hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, If he continued so, he should be saved. And so calling upon the officers, caused them to make haste to the gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way, said they, lest he should fall again. And so was this merchant, notwithstanding his recantantion, hanged for jesting against the friars.

Thomas Calbergne had copied out certain spiritual songs from a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This book being espied, he was called for by the justice, and examined of the book, which he said contained nothing but what was agreeing to the Scripture, and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the castle, and, after nineteen days, was brought to the town-house, and there judged to the fire; whereunto he went cheerfully, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, "Turn, Thomas, Thomas, yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour." To whom he cried out of the flame, with a loud voice, "And I trust to be one of that sort."—And so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit.

After *Arnold Moniere* was taken, examined by the justice, and laid in prison, *John de Cazes*, resorting to the town of Bourdeaux, and hearing of him, and being admonished, moreover, that if he went to him, he should be appeached of heresy, notwithstanding, went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon an hurdle to the place, accompanied by a number of bills, gunners, and trumpeters. Moreover, although there was no such cause, they being two simple poor men, yet the magistrates commanded all the gates of the city to be

shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed martyrs were brought and bound to the post, which was before the palace, they, much rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many exhortations unto the people. But to stop the hearing of these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound; which during all the time of their suffering never ceased. The hangman, preparing himself first to strangle Cazes, chanced to fall down from the top of the post to the pavement, and brake his head in such sort, that the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding, he, recovering himself, went to Moniere, and him he strangled, who patiently rendered up his life. Cazes, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the hangman came, suffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; for, as his legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, crying, *My God! My Father!* and so gave up his life.

And further to note the work of God that followed: when these two mild and martyred saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly, without matter or cause, such a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the justices and the people, notwithstanding that they had the gates locked to them, and were defended with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took to their legs, in such haste fleeing away, that they over-ran one another. The prior of St. Anthony's fell down, so that a great number went over him. The judge Pontacke, on his mule, with his red robe, fleeing, as the other did, was overthrown with the press, in the street called Poteuin, in such sort, that he was fain to be carried to Pichon's house, a widow, and there cried within, "Hide me, save my life, I am dead! I see even the like matter as at the last commotion. My friends, hide my mule, that no man may see her nor know her." Briefly, such was the fear which came upon them, that every man shut up his house. After the fear was past, every man asked what the matter was; but none could tell, neither could the enemies of God's truth perceive who was he that put them so to flight and fear, without any semblance of an adversary about them. This story is testified, and to be found both in the volume of French martyrs, printed by John Crispine, lib. 6, also in the book of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrianus.

Philbert Hamlin first was a priest; then he went to Geneva, where he exercised printing, and sent books abroad. After that, he was made minister at the town of Allenart, in Saintonge, in which and in other places more, he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended at Sainctes Ville, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had instructed in the

gospel; and, after confession made of his faith, he, with the said priest, was carried to Bourdeaux before the president.—As he was in prison on a Sunday, a priest came in with all his furniture, to say mass in the prison; whom Philbert seeing to be vested, came and plucked his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the mass-garments, with the chalic and candlesticks, fell down and were broken; saying, "Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?" The jailer, hearing of this, in his fury, laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him: whereby he was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that his legs were swollen withal, and there continued eight days. A little before, he, perceiving the priest, his host, to decline from the truth, did what he could to confirm him in the same; but when he knew he had flatly renounced Christ and his word, he said unto him, O unhappy and more than miserable! is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the course of nature, so to start away, and to deny the truth! Know you, therefore, that although you have, by your foolishness, avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer; for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause, and you shall be an example to all apostates. He had no sooner ended his talk, but the priest, going out of prison, was slain by two gentlemen, who had a quarrel with him. Whereof when master Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the providence of God; which, by the occasion hereof, moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

At last, the aforesaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdom before the palace; and, as he was exhorting the people, to the intent his words should not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceasing. And so, being fastened to the post, this holy martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body consumed with fire, on Palm-Sunday eve.

On the 4th of Sept. 1558, a company of the faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were assembled together at Paris in a certain house, having before it the college of Plessis, in the street of St. James, and behind it the college of Sorbonne; who there assembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to receive the Lord's Supper. This was soon discovered by certain priests of Plessis, who gathering together such as were of that faction, came to beset the house, and made an outcry, that

the watch might come to take them: so that in a short time almost all the city of Paris was up in armour, thinking some conspiracy to have been in the city. Who then following the noise, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to have their blood, and therefore stopped the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires to see that none should escape. The faithful, although God had given them leisure to finish their administration and prayers with such quietness as they never had better, seeing the suddenness of the thing, were struck in great fear; who then being exhorted by the governors of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counsel of some who knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken—that the men who had weapons should adventure through the press. Only the women and children remained in the house, and a few men with them, who were less bold than the other, to the number of six or seven score.

Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, who, notwithstanding that the lanes and passages were stopped, and the fires made, did yet all escape, save only one, who was beaten down with stones, and so destroyed. Certain that remained in the house with the women, afterward leaped into gardens, where they were stayed till the magistrates came. The women (who were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted) seeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the people, went up to the windows, crying, *Mercy!* and showing their innocent intent, required justice ordinary. Thus as they were inclosed about six or seven hours, at last came Martin, the king's attorney, with force of commissaries and serjeants, who, with much ado, appeasing the outrage of the people, entered into the house; where he, viewing the women and children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that congregation, perceived testimonies sufficient for their innocency, insomuch that, in considering thereof, for pity of heart, his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to prison within the little castle. I omit here the furious usuage of the people by the way, how despitefully they plucked and haled the women, tore their garments, thrust off their hoods from their heads, and disfigured their faces with mud and dirt. Neither were they better treated in the prison than they were in the streets; for all the villains and thieves there were let out of their holes and stinking caves, and the poor Christians placed in their rooms.

Besides these manifold wrongs and oppressions done to these poor innocents, followed then (which was worst of all) the cruel

and slanderous reports of the friars and priests, who, in their railing sermons and other talk, cried out of the Lutherans, persuading the people most falsely, that they assembled together to make a banquet in the night, and there putting out the candles, they went together, Jack with Jill, (as they said) after a filthy and beastly manner. Adding, moreover, to make the lie more likely, that certain nuns also and monks were with them; also that they should conspire against the king, and other like heinous crimes, whatsoever their malice could invent, for defacing of the gospel. With such like malicious reports and slanders Satan went about to extinguish the ancient church of Christ in the primitive times, accusing the innocent Christians then of incest, conspiracy, killing of infants, putting out of candles, and whoredoms, &c.

These sinister rumours and cursed defamations were no sooner given out, but they were as soon received, and spread far, not only to them of the vulgar sort, but also among the states of the court, and even to the king's ears. The cardinal of Lorrain the same time bore a great sway in the court, who then procured a certain judge of the castle to come in, declaring to the king, that he found there lying on the floor of the aforesaid house, divers couches and pallets, upon which they intended to commit their whoredoms, also much other furniture and preparation appointed for a sumptuous banquet. Wherewith the king was mightily inflamed against them; neither was there any one person that durst contradict it.

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the gospel, with all the friends thereof, were overthrown for ever. On the other side, no less perplexity and lamentation was among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their fellows. Albeit they lost not their courage so altogether, but, as well as they could, they exhorted one another, considering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, consulting together in this order, that first they should humble themselves to God in their own private families; secondly, to stop the evil reports of their holy assemblies, they should write apologies, one to the king, another to the people; thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

Briefly, to finish the residue of this story: As the faithful Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries again with their faction were not idle, but sought all means possible to hasten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance

about the prison and other places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of them whose religion they hated.

Finally, the 17th day of September, commission was directed out by the king, and certain presidents and counsellors appointed to oversee the execution of the matter. Upon which divers of the poor afflicted gospellers were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom, and burnt alive.

Of this godly company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the first was *Nicholas Clinet*, of the age of sixty years, who first being a schoolmaster at Saintonge, where he was born, was there pursued, and had his image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where for his godly conversation he was made one of the elders or governors of the Church. For his age he was suspected by the judges to be a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chief of the Sorbonists, and namely Maillard; whom he did so confute both by the Scriptures, and also their own Sorbonical divinity, (wherein he had been well exercised and expert,) in the presence of the Lieutenant Civil, that the said lieutenant confessed, that he never heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Taurin Gravelle first was a student of the law at Toulouse; after that, an advocate in the court of Paris; lastly, he was ordained an elder to the said congregation, with Clinet abovementioned. This Taurin, having in his hands the keeping of a certain house, of one master Barthonier, his kinsman, and seeing the congregation destitute of room, received them into the said house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, although he might have escaped with the rest; yet he would not, to the intent he might answer for the fact, in receiving the said assembly into the house. The constancy of this man was invincible, in sustaining his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Dr. Maillard especially he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know so well even from his youth upward, that whensoever the said doctor would open his mouth to speak against the saints for their nightly assemblies, he again did reproach him with such filthy acts and Sodomitical practices, that neither they which heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being so notorious, that almost all the children in the streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical doctor shamed not to impeach good men of whoredom, for their godly assemblies in the night; whose life was as far from all chastity, as their holy assemblies were clear from all impurity.

In fine, these two godly elders, in cruel pains of the fire, finished their martyrdom.

Next unto Clinet and Gravelle abovesaid, was brought out *Mrs. Philip*, gentlewoman, of the age of twenty-three years.

She came first from Gascoigne, with her husband (who was lord of Graveron) unto Paris, there to join herself to the church of God, where her husband also had been an elder, who, in the month of May before, was taken with an ague, and died; his widow ceased not to serve the Lord in his church, and was taken in the house with the people above-mentioned.

Many conflicts she had with the judges and the Sorbonists, namely, Maillard: but she always sent him away with the same reproach as the other did before, and bade him, Avaunt, Sodomite! saying, she would not answer one word to such a villain. To the judges her answer was this, That she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and in the same would live and die. And being demanded, whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament? How is that possible, said she, to be the body of Christ, to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all heavens, when we see the mice and rats, apes and monkeys, play with it, and tear it in pieces? Her petition to them was, that seeing they had taken her sister from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort herself. Her wicked neighbours, although they could not impeach her conversation with any scandal, yet many things they laid to her charge: as, that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and twice or thrice an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also, when her husband was dying, no priest was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their infant to be baptized, (for it was baptized in the church of the Lord.) Among other her neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at St. Germaine in the suburbs, between whom rose a strife, wherein one of them stabbed the other with a knife.

The death of this gentlewoman was the more hastened by the lord-keeper of the seal, Bertrand, cardinal of Sens, and his son-in-law, the marquis of Trance, to have the confiscation of her goods.

These three holy martyrs above-recited, were condemned, Sept. 27th, by the process of the commissioners, and the Lieutenant Civil: and then being put in a chapel together, certain doctors were sent to them; but their valiant constancy remained unmovable. After that, they were had out of their prison, and sent every one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet ever cried by the way, protesting, that he said or maintained nothing but the verity of God. And being asked by a doctor, Whether he would believe St. Austin, touching certain matters? he said, Yea; and that he had said nothing but which he would prove by this authority.

The gentlewoman seeing a priest coming to confess her, said, That she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certain counsellors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden cross, according to the custom of them that go to their death, alleging how Christ commanded every one to bear his cross: she answered, My lords, you make me in very deed to bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who willeth us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of.

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and shewed a cheerful colour, declaring how little he cared for his condemnation. And being asked by his friends to what death he was condemned: I see well, said he, that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unless he would recant, he said, That was not so contained in the arrest, and therefore he was unwilling to submit to it. But afterward perceiving the same to be so agreed by the court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut out, and instantly after, spake plainly these words, *I pray you, pray to God for me!*

The gentlewoman also being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words, "Seeing I do not stick to give my body, shall I stick to give my tongue? No, no." And so these three, having their tongues cut out, were brought to Malbert-place. The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groans to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, who neither changed countenance nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

After the death of her husband, she used to go in a mourning weed, after the manner of the country. But the same day, going to her burning, she put on her French hood, and decked herself in her best array, as going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her spouse, Jesus Christ. And thus the three, with singular constancy, were burned; Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive; Philip, the gentlewoman, was strangled, after her feet and face had been scorched a little; and so she ended her martyrdom.

Of the same company was also *Nicholas Cene*, a physician, brother to Philip Cene, (who was martyred at Dijon,) and *Peter Gabart*; which two, about five or six days after the other three, were brought forth to their death, October 2.

Nicholas Cene was but new come to Paris the same day, when he was advertised of the assembly which was then collected in the street of St. James, and as he desired nothing more than to hear the word of God, came thither, even as he was, booted, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of God's holy gospel unto death.

The other was Peter Gabart, a solicitor of processes, about thirty years of age, whose constancy did much comfort the prisoners. He was put among a number of scholars in the little castle; who, when he heard to pass the time in talking of philosophy; no, no, said he, let us forget these worldly matters, and learn to sustain the heavenly cause of our God, in defence of the kingdom of Jesus Christ our Saviour. And so he began to instruct them how to answer to every point of Christian doctrine so well, as if he had done no other in all his life, but only studied divinity; and yet was he but very simply learned. Then was he sent from them apart to another prison, full of stench and vermin; where he ceased not to sing psalms, that the other might well hear him. He had a nephew in a prison by, being but a child, of whom he asked what he had said to the judges? He said, that he was constrained to do reverence to a crucifix painted. O thou naughty boy, said he; have I not taught thee the commandments of God? Knowest thou not how it is written, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," &c. And so began to expound to him the commandments, whereunto he gave good attention.

In their examinations, many questions were propounded by the doctors and friars, touching matters of religion, and also to know of them what gentlemen and gentlewomen were there present at the ministration of the sacrament. Whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their own cause, and also to save their other brethren from blame, saying, that they would live and die in what they had said and maintained.

When the time of their execution was come, they perceived that the judges had intended, that if they would relent they should be strangled; if not, they should burn alive, and their tongues be cut out. Which torments they being content to suffer for our Saviour Jesus Christ, offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut out. Gabart began a little to sigh, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his tongue; whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawn out of prison, in the dung-cart, to the suburbs of St. Germaine; whom the people in rage and malice followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves upon them, instead of the hangman. The cruelty of their death was

such as hath not often been seen: for they were held over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before the higher parts were much harmed. Nevertheless, these blessed saints ceased not in all these torments to shew testimonies of their faith and constancy.

In the same fire many Testaments and Bibles were also burnt.

Mention was made above of certain students, who were in the little castle with Peter Gabart; of which number were these two, *Frederick Danvile* and *Francis Rebezies*, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the doctors of Sorbonne, their own letters do record: the effect whereof is this; and first, touching Frederick Danvile:

The lieutenant criminal, who before was half suspected, but now thinking to prove himself a right Catholic, and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture, "Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father," &c. That done, he asked him what he thought of the sacrament? To whom Frederick answered, That if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the priest's hands after the sacramental words, as they call them, then should he believe a thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, and to the creed, which saith, "that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father;" also to the testimony of the angels, which spake both of the ascending of Christ, and his coming down again, Acts i. After this he questioned with him touching the invocation of saints, purgatory, &c. Whereunto he answered so, that he rather did astonish the enemies than satisfy them.

Furthermore, the 12th of September, the said Frederick again was brought before Benedictus Jacobin, and his companion, a Sorbonist, called Noster Magister, who thus began to argue with him:

Doctor. What think you to be the true church? the church of the Protestants, or the church of Paris?

Martyr. I recognize that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly ministered, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his apostles.

D. And is the church of Geneva, think you, such a one as you speak of?

M. I so judge it to be.

D. And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?

M. Yea, if you shall prove it by the Scripture.

D. Or will you believe St. Austin, and other holy doctors innumerable?

M. Yea, so they dissent not from the Scripture and the word of God.

D. By the authority of St. Austin, the church is there where is the succession of bishops. Whereunto I frame this argument: There is the church where is the perpetual succession of bishops. In the church of Paris is such succession of bishops: ergo, the church of Paris is the true church.

M. To your major I answer, That if St. Austin mean the succession of such as are true bishops indeed, which truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, such bishops I suppose to be at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments duly ministered, and not in the church of Paris. But if otherwise St. Austin mean the succession of false bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's word, so is the same in no wise to be granted.

Rebezies had three sundry examinations; the first, with the lieutenant civil; the second, with the presidents and counsellors; the third, with the friars. First, the lieutenant inquiring of his name, country, and parents, asked whether he was at the communion; whether he received with them the bread and wine; and whether he was a servitor to Mr. Nicholas Cene, senior of the congregation. Whereunto he said, Yea. Also, whether he was a distributer of the tokens whereby they were let in that came. That he denied. Then he was brought into the council-chamber, before two presidents and twenty-five counsellors; who, after other questions about his country and parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house: He answered, Yea. What had he to do there? To hear the word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durst or would enter, knowing no person there? Truth it was, said he, that he knew there two or three. Who were they? Mr. Gravelle, Clinet, and John Sansot, feigning that name of himself. Whether he knew the preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to resort unto their beautiful temples to hear mass? or whether he did not take the mass to be a holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered again contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up by the devil. Whether he did not acknowledge purgatory? Yea, that purgatory which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world. The death of Christ is the principal, said they: but thou must also believe another. Alas, said he, can we never content ourselves with the *simplicity* of the gospel, but man always will be putting to

something of his own brain! In so many places of the Scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as John i. Rev. v. Heb. ix. Isa. xliii. where the Lord himself saith, "That it is he, who for his own sake putteth away our iniquities," &c. As St. Paul also saith, "That God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," &c. And contrary, when they objected the words of the parable, Matt. v. "Thou shalt not come out, till thou hast paid the last farthing." To this he answered, that the words of that parable had no such relation, but to matters civil: and this word, *until*, meaneth there as much as to say never. After that, he was charged there by one for reading the books of Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The president asked, if he were not afraid to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his parents into such dishonour? He answered that he knew well, "that all who would live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution;" and that to him either to live or to die were advantage in the Lord. And, as touching his parents, Christ, said he, doth premonish, "That whosoever loveth father or mother more than him, is not worthy to be his," &c. Jesus Maria! said the president; what youth is this now-a-days, which cast themselves so headlong into the fire! And so was he commanded away.

Thirdly, he was brought before Benet, master of the doctors of Sorbonne, and another called Jacobine, the 14th of October; where, as he chancing to speak of the Lord, the doctor began thus to object as followeth:

Doctor. See how you, and all such as are of your company, simply name the Lord, without putting to the pronoun, *our*. So may the devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.

Martyr. The devils call the Lord in such sort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the adulteress before him, and called him Master; yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his disciples; whose cause, I trust, is nothing like to ours, which know and confess, as we speak, him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to do.

D. I know well you hold the church to be where the word is truly preached, and the sacraments sincerely ministered, according as they are left by Christ and his apostles.

M. That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.

D. Do you not believe, that whosoever is without that church cannot obtain remission of his sins?

M. Whosoever doth separate himself from that church, to make either sect, party, or division, cannot obtain as you say.

D. Now let us consider two churches, the one wherein the

word is rightly preached, and the sacraments administered accordingly as they be left unto us: the other, wherein the word and sacraments be used contrarily. Which of these two ought we to believe?

M. The first.

D. Well said. Next is now to speak of the gifts given to the said church; as the power of the keys, confession for remission of sins, after we be confessed to a priest. Also we must believe the seven sacraments in the same church, truly administered, as they be here in the churches of Paris, where the sacrament of the altar is ministered, and the gospel truly preached.

M. Sir, now you begin to halt; as for my part, I do not receive in the church more than two sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole assembly of Christians. And as to the power of the keys, and your confession, I believe that for remission of our sins, we ought to go to none other but only to God, as we read, 1 John i. "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Also in the prophet David, Psa. xix. and xxxii. "I have opened my sin unto thee," &c.

After this, about October 22d, the said Rebezies and Frederick Danvile were brought up to a chamber in the castle to be racked, to the intent they should utter the rest of the congregation. In which chamber they found three counsellors, who thus began with them: Lift up thy hand; thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image here thou seest. Whereunto Rebezies answered, Monsieur, I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart. Why dost thou not swear to us, said the counsellors, as we say unto thee? Because, said he, it is a great blasphemy against the Lord. Then the counsellors read their depositions; and first beginning with Rebezies, said, Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what companions thou knowest to be of this assembly? Rebezies named, as he did before, Gravelle, Clinet, (who were already burnt) and John Sansot. To whom they said, that the court had ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should be put to the torture or rack. And so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary, but he neither would receive the cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying, that God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the lion's mouth; and so being drawn and stretched in the air, began to cry, "Come, Lord, and shew thy strength, that man do not prevail," &c. But they cried, Tell truth, Francis, and thou shalt be let down. Nevertheless, he continued still in his

invocation, and prayed to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the counsellors said, Wilt thou say nothing else? I have nothing else, said he, to say. And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fire-side; who, being loosed, said to them, Do you handle thus the poor servants of God? And the like was done to Frederick Danvile also, his companion, of whom they could have no other answer, (who at the same time was also very sick) but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his servants.

These steadfast and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture unto their fellow-prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederick did sigh, oftentimes; and being asked by his fellows, why he did so? he said, it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they should suffer afterward. Notwithstanding, said he, be strong, brethren, and be not afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, which hath succoured us, and also will comfort you.

Rebezies with the rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not move himself; and therefore, desiring his brethren to lay him upon his bed, there he wrote his confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came, they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day. Rebezies cried twice or thrice together, Away from me, Satan. Frederick being in bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether Satan would stop him of his course? Rebezies said, that Satan set before him his parents; but, by the grace of God, said he, he shall do nothing against me.

The day next following, they were brought once or twice before the counsellors, and required to shew what companions they had more of the said assembly. Which when they would not declare, the sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Maulbert-place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, be tied each one to his post, and afterwards be strangled, and so be burned into ashes.

Afterward came the friars and doctors, Democharés, Maillard, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a cross to kiss; which they refused. Then Democharés, by force, made Rebezies to kiss it, whether he would or not, crying to them moreover, that they should believe in the sacrament. What, said Frederick, will he have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of his Father? Democharés said, that so many

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of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any miracles, as the apostles and other holy martyrs did. Frederick asked them, if they required any miracle? No, said they; and so stood mute, save only that Democharés prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. Maillard also added, that he would engage his soul to be damned, but it was true. Frederick answered, that he knew it was contrary.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. Let God, said they, reign alone. The people standing by, Ah, mischievous Lutheran! said they: Nay, a true Christian I am, said he.

When they were tied to the stakes, after their prayers made, and they were bid to be despatched, one of them, comforting the other, said, "Be strong, my brother, be strong; Satan, away from us." As they were thus exhorting, one, standing by, said, These Lutherans do call upon Satan. One John Morrel, who afterward died a martyr, then standing by at liberty, answered, I pray you, let us hear what they say, and we shall hear them invocate the name of God. Whereupon the people listened better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said; they crying still as much as their mouths, being stopped, could utter, "Assist us, O Lord!" And so they, rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant martyrdom.—Ex Crispino, lib. 6.

This lamentable story of *Benet Romain*, is described at large, among other French martyrs, by John Crispine, printer. The brief recital whereof here followeth: This Benet, having wife and children at Geneva, to get his living, used to go about the country with certain mercery wares; understanding, also, among other things, how to dress corals. As he was coming towards Marseilles, and passed by the town of Draguignan, he met with one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc; who, being desirous to have of his corals, and could not agree for the price, also knowing that he was of Geneva, went to a counsellor of the court of Aix, (being then at Draguignan,) whose name was De Lauris, son-in-law to Miners, lord of Opede, a great persecutor.

This Lauris, consulting with the aforesaid Blanc, and pretending to buy certain of his coral, which he saw to be very fair, and knowing also that he had to the worth of three hundred crowns, soon after his departing from him, he sent to the officer of the town to attach the said Benet, as one being the greatest Lutheran in the world. Thus when he was arrested for the king's prisoner, Blanc and his fellows, who sought nothing but only the prey, were ready to seize on his goods, and likewise of the other two men whom he hired to bear his merchandise.

Then were these three poor men separated asunder, and Romain examined before the consuls, and the king's advocate, and other counsellors: Where he kept his Easter? whether he received at the same Easter? whether he was confessed before, and fasted the Lent? Also he was bid to say his Pater Noster, the Creed, and Ave Maria; which two first he did, but denied to say Ave Maria. Then was he asked for worshipping of saints, women saints, and men saints, and when he heard mass? He said he would worship none but God alone. Mass he heard none these four years, nor ever would.

Whereupon he was, with iron chains upon his legs, confined in a privy. Lauris thus having his will upon the poor man, sent for the lieutenant, named Anthony Revest, told him what he had done, and willed him to see the prisoner. The lieutenant, being angry that he did so usurp his office, denied to go with him to the prisoner, excusing the filthy savour of the place. Notwithstanding, the same day, the lieutenant with another went to the prison, and caused the said Romain to come before him; of whom he inquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his faculty, and cause of his coming, also of his religion, and all such points thereto belonging. Unto whom he answered again, simply and truly in all respects, as lay in his conscience; and thereunto, being required, because he could not write, he put to his mark. After this confession being thrice made, and his answers taken, certain faithful brethren of that place found means to come to him, and counselled him, that seeing he had sufficiently already made confession of his faith, he would seek means to escape out from his enemies, who sought nothing but his death, and shewed unto him what he should say unto the lieutenant; but he refused so to do, being willing there to render account of his faith, and contented to die for the same.

The fame of his constancy being known in the town, judge Barbosi, a man blind and ignorant, and no less deformed, came to him, and asked, What, do they believe, said he, in any God in Geneva? Romain, looking upon him, What art thou, said he, that so wretchedly dost blaspheme? I am, said he, the ordinary judge of this place. And who hath put thee, said Romain, such a gross and deformed person, in such an office? Thinkest thou that we be infidels, and no Christians? And if the devils themselves do confess a God, suppose you that they of Geneva do deny their God? No, no; we believe in God, we invocate his name, and repose all our trust in him, &c. Barbosi took such grief with this, departing from Romain, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.

The lieutenant then being much urged, and much called upon, and also threatened by this Barbosi, and others, prepared to proceed in judgment against him, taking to him such judges and advocates as the order there required. There was at the same time an observant friar, who had there preached all the Lent. He, being very eager and diligent to have the poor Christian burned, and seeing the judges intent about the business to set the matter forward, said, he would go and say mass by the Holy Ghost, to illuminate their intents, to have the said Romain condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured Caval and Cavalieri, the consuls, to threaten the lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the high court of parliament, if he would not after that sort condemn him to be burnt. In the mean time, the faithful Christians of the said town, fearing, lest by this racking, danger might happen to the brethren, sent to Romain again several instructions and means how he might be aided, such as should not be against God. But when the lieutenant came, the poor man forgot his instructions; so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtleties of this world.

When the time came that the judges were set, and the process should be read, Barbosi, with others whom the friar had procured, had agreed before that he should be fired alive, and put to the rack to disclose his fellows, and afterwards gagged, that he might not speak and infect the residue. On the other part, one there was of the advocates, (although a man wholly superstitious,) who, seeing the rage of the other, gave contrary advice, saying, that he should be sent home again; for that he was a town-dweller of Geneva, neither had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any books, neither had they any informations against him: and that which he had spoken, was a thing constrained by his oath, forced by the justice. And as touching his opinion, it was no other but as other young men did follow, which were either of the one part or of the other; and, therefore, that there remained no more, but only the lieutenant to give his verdict, &c.

Thus much being spoken, and also because the lieutenant was before suspected, and the time of dinner drew near, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The friar, observant in this, mean while was not idle, inciting still the consuls and the people; who, at the ringing of a bell, being assembled together, with the official and the priests, in a great rout, came crying to the lieutenant to burn the heretic, or else they would fire him, and all his family; and in like wise did the same to the other judges and advocates. The official, moreover, added, that if it were not better seen into than so, the Lutherans would take such courage, and so shut up their church doors,

that no man should enter in. Then, because the lieutenant would not take to him other judges after their minds, in all haste the people contributed together, that, at their own charge, the matter should be pursued at the parliament of Aix; and so compelled the lieutenant to bring the process into judgment, every man crying, "To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned!"

The lieutenant being not able any otherwise to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high court of Aix; and so he did. They, hearing the information of the cause, commanded the lieutenant and the other judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the process and prisoner unto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of Draguignan, which would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon Barbosi was sent out to the parliament of Aix, where he so practised and laboured the matter, that the cause was sent down again to the lieutenant, and he enjoined to take unto him such ancient advocates as their old order required, and to certify them again within eight days.

And so Romain, by the sentence of those old judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be strangled; and, before the execution, to be put upon the rack, to the intent he should disclose the rest of his company. From which sentence Romain then appealed, saying, that he was no heretic. Whereupon he was carried unto Aix, singing the commandments as he passed by the town of Draguignan; which when the king's advocate did see, looking out of his window, he said unto him, That he was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him. Romain answered again, God will judge us all in the last day of judgment. After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the counsellors, before whom he remained no less constant and firm than before. Then was a friar sent, who being three hours with him, and could not remove him, came out to the lords, and said that he was damned. By reason whereof, the sentence given before, of his condemnation, was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

At his return again from Aix, the consuls of Draguignan sent abroad by parishes to the curates, that they should signify to their parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come; also caused to be cried through the town, by the sound of a trumpet, that all good Christians should bring wood to the great market-place, to burn the Lutheran.

The day being come, which was Saturday, the 16th of May, the poor servant of God first was brought to the rack or torture, where, at his first entry, were brought before him the cords, irons, and weights, to terrify him. Then, said they, he must

utter his accomplices, and renounce his religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered, with a firm heart, that he had no other accomplices nor companions, neither would he hold any other faith, but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his apostles. Then was he demanded of his fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the town, or in the province, to be of his faith? He said, No. Likewise, what he had to do in that town? He said, to sell his coral. Also, who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this, he was put upon the gin or rack, where he being torn most outrageously, ceased not still to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary; but he would not. Whereupon his torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead; and, finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid lest he should expire, and hastened to bring him to the fire. So after they had assayed him by priests and friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the hangman to bear him, all broken and bruised as he was, unto the heap of wood, where they tied him to a chain of iron, which was let down upon the faggots. Romain seeing himself to be alone, lying upon the wood, began to pray to God; whereat the friars being moved, ran to him again to cause him to say, *Ave Maria;* which when he would not do, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his beard. In all these anguishes, the meek saint of God had recourse still to God in his prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead; but so soon as they descended from the wood, he began to pray to God again, in such sort as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great friar, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came up to the wood unto him, to admonish him. Romain thought at first that he had been a faithful Christian, by his gentle speech; but afterwards when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romain lifted up his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great trial. Then a certain father, a warden, to bring the people in more hatred, cried out, and said, "He blasphemeth, he blasphemeth, he speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary!" Whereat Barbosi cried, Stop his mouth; let him be gagged. The people cried, To the fire, let him be burned. Then the hangman set fire to the straw and little sticks that were about, which were soon in a flame; Romain still re-

mained hanging in the air till he died, and all his nether parts were burned when he was seen to lift up his head to heaven, moving his lips without any cry. And so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God.

Of this assembly there were divers judgments and reports. Some said, that if good men had been about him, it had gone better with him; and that those priests and monks which were about him, were whoremasters and infamous. Others said, that he had wrong, and that a hundred of that company there were who more deserved death than he, especially among them who condemned him. Others went away marvelling, and disputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the course finished to this valiant and thrice blessed martyr and servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God.—Ex Crisp. lib. 6. page 902.

Francis Civaux was secretary to the French ambassador here in England, in queen Mary's time; who, afterwards, being desirous to hear the word of God, went to Geneva. Also he was secretary to the senate or council of Geneva; where he continued about the space of a year, having then certain business to come to Dijon.

There was at the same time a priest, that preached at Dijon such doctrine, whereat the said Francis being worthily offended, came friendly unto the priest, and reasoned with him touching his doctrine, shewing by the Scriptures how and wherein he had erred. The priest excused himself, that he was not so well-instructed to dispute; that he would bring him the next day to a certain learned man whom he knew there in the town, and desired the said Francis to go with him to breakfast, where he would be glad to hear them two in conferences together. Whereunto when Francis had consented, the priest went to the Jacobin friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the breakfast-time Francis there should, unawares, be apprehended.

When the next day came, the priest brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin friar, who, pretending much fair friendship unto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take breakfast with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this also Francis was content; and to prepare himself the better to that conflict, sat up almost all the night, writing with his fellow. The next morrow, as Francis, with his fellow, were preparing themselves toward the breakfast, the Jacobin, in the mean time, went to the justice of the town, to admonish him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was standing at the justice's door, the companion of Francis, seeing the friar there stand, began to mistrust with himself, and told Francis, willing him to beware of the friar; moreover, the

same night, Francis had in his dream, that the friar should commit him to the justice. But he, either not caring for his dream, or else not much minding the danger, committed himself to the hand of God, and went. As they were together disputing in the convent of the Jacobins, Francis, thus betrayed by the priests, was apprehended by the officers, carried to prison, and, within seven days after, being Saturday before the nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where first he was strangled, and then burned.—Ex scripto testimonio Genevensis.

In the town of Valenciennes, in the month of October, 1559, suffered *Thomas Moutard;* who first being converted from a disorderly life to the knowledge of the gospel, is to us a spectacle of God's great mercy. This Moutard was attached for certain words spoken to a priest, saying thus, That his god of the host was nothing more but abomination, which abused the people. His process being drawn up, he was condemned to be burnt alive. As he was carried from the town-hall to the place of punishment, he rejoiced greatly at the honour which God had called him unto, and, in the midst of the fire, gave up his life to God.

Stephen Cevalerie Prime, chief treasurer to the king in Poictiers, a very good man, and careful of the commonwealth, after he had paid for his life a good sum of money, was cruelly murdered.

Magdalen Brissonet, an excellent woman, and learned, the widow of Ivermus, master of requests to the king, fleeing out of the city in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and cast into the river.

Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the same liberty of killing and spoiling continued certain days after.

At Meldis two hundred were cast into prison, and being brought out as sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also were twenty-five women slain.

At Orleans, a thousand men, women, and children, were murdered.

The citizens of Augustobona, hearing of the massacre at Paris, shut the gates of their town, that no protestants might escape; and cast all they suspected into prison, who were afterwards brought forth and murdered.

At Lyons there were 800 most miserably and cruelly murdered; the children hanging at their fathers' necks, and the fathers embracing their children, &c. Three hundred were slain in the archbishop's house. The monks would not suffer their bodies to be buried.

At Toulouse, 200 were murdered.

At Rouen 500 were put to death. At last, Thuanus writeth

thus; "This example passed unto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the kingdom, above 30,000 were in these tumults divers ways destroyed."

Bricamotius, a man of seventy years, and *Cavagnius*, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution; and, being in the way reviled and defiled with dirt cast upon them, they were hanged. The first might have been pardoned, if he would publickly confess that the admiral had conspired against the king, which he refused to do.

At Bourdeaux, by the instigation of a monk, named Enimund Angerius, were 264 cruelly murdered, of whom some were senators. This monk continually provoked them in his sermons to this slaughter.

John Burgeolus, president of Turin, an old man, being suspected to be a protestant, having bought, with a great sum of money, his life and safety, was, notwithstanding, taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and staves, and, being stripped of his clothes, was brought to the bank of the river Liger, and was hanged by his feet upward, and head downward in the water up to his breast; then (he yet alive) they opened his belly, plucked out his entrails, and threw them into the river, and, taking his heart, put it upon a spear, carrying it, with contumelious words, about the city.

When the city Matiscon was taken, by corrupting the keeper of the keys, whom, notwithstanding, they killed, great cruelty was shewed, so that they counted it sport to cut off men's legs and arms.

Sapontius, inviting gentlewomen to supper, would walk with them, and, having his soldiers about him, used to cast some of his prisoners (of which he had many) from the bridge into the river, and with that spectacle gratified his guests; whom he would often ask, whether they ever saw men leap better.

At Albia of Cahors, upon the Lord's day, the 16th of December, the papists, at the ringing of a bell, broke open the doors where the protestants were assembled, and killed without difference all they could find; among whom was one *Guacerius*, a rich merchant, whom they drew into his house, and then with his wife and children, murdered him.

In a town called Penna, 300 (notwithstanding the safety of their lives was promised them) were cruelly murdered by Spaniards, who were newly come to serve the French king.

The town of Nonne having capitulated to the papists, upon condition that the foreign soldiers should depart safe with horse and armour, leaving their ensigns, and that the enemy's soldiers should not enter into the town; and that no harm should be done to the inhabitants, who (if they would) might go into the

castle; after the yielding of it, the gates were set open, when, without any regard to those conditions, the soldiers rushed in, and began murdering and spoiling all around them. Men and women without difference were killed; the streets sounded with miserable mourning, and blood flowing in the ways. Many were thrown down headlong from on high.

The enemies of the truth, now glutted with slaughter, began every where to triumph in the fallacious opinion, that they were the sole lords of men's consciences; and, truly, it might appear to human reason, that by the destruction of his people, God had abandoned the earth to the ravages of his enemy. But he had otherwise decreed, and thousands yet, who had not *bowed the knee to Baal*, were called forth to *glory and virtue*. The inhabitants of Rochelle, hearing of the cruelties committed on their brethren, resolved to defend themselves against the power of the king; and their example was followed by various other towns, with which they entered into a confederacy, exhorting and inspiriting one another in the common cause. To crush this, the king shortly after summoned the whole power of France, and the greatest of his nobility, among whom were his royal brothers; he invested Rochelle by land and sea, and commenced a furious siege, which, but for the immediate hand of God, must have ended in its destruction.

Seven principal assaults were made against the poor town of Rochelle, but none of which succeeded. At one time a breach was made by the tremendous cannonade; but, through the undaunted valour of the citizens, assisted even by their wives and daughters, who could not be restrained, the soldiers were driven back with great slaughter.

It is worthy of record, that when there came a lack of *provisions*, there was found daily in the river a great multitude of fish, which the people used instead of bread; these fish, immediately on the conclusion of the siege, entirely disappeared.

The siege lasted seven months, when the duke of Anjou being proclaimed king of Poland, he, in concert with the king of France, entered into a treaty with the people of Rochelle, which ended in a peace: the conditions, containing 25 articles, having been drawn up by the latter, embracing many immunities both for themselves and other protestants in France, were confirmed by the king, and proclaimed with great rejoicings at Rochelle and other cities.

The year following died Charles IX. of France, the tyrant who had been so instrumental in the calamities above recorded. He was only in the 25th year of his age, and his death was remarkable and dreadful. When lying on his bed, the blood gushed from various parts of his body, and, at length, after

tumbling about, and uttering the most horrid blasphemies, it came forth in such torrents from his mouth, that he expired.

On Saturday, March 6, 1556, about ten o'clock at night, the provost of Lisle, with his serjeants, armed themselves, and went to seek if they could find any protestants met together in houses: but there was then no assembly. They therefore came to the house of Robert Oguier, which was a little church, where both rich and poor were familiarly instructed in the Scriptures.

Having entered into the said house, and seeking for their prey, they found certain books, which they carried away. But he whom they principally aimed at was not there, namely, Baudicon, the son of the said Robert Oguier, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the word of God with some of the brethren. On his return home, he knocked at the door, when Martin, his younger brother, watching his coming, bade him be gone: but Baudicon, thinking his brother mistook him for some other, said, "It is I, open the door;" with that the serjeants opened the same, and let him in, saying, "Ah! Sir, you are well met!" to whom he answered, "I thank you, my friends, you are also welcome hither." Then said the provost, "I arrest you all in the emperor's name;" and with that commanded each of them to be bound, viz. the husband, his wife, and their two sons, (leaving their two daughters to look to the house) and confined them in several prisons. A few days after, the prisoners were brought before the magistrates, and examined concerning their course of life. They directed their speech first to Robert Oguier, in these words: "It is told us, that you never come to mass, yea, and also dissuade others from coming thereto; we are further informed that you maintain conventicles in your house, causing erroneous doctrines to be preached there, contrary to the ordinance of our holy mother the church, whereby you have transgressed the laws of his imperial majesty."

Robert Oguier answered, "Whereas, first of all, you lay to my charge, that I go not to mass; I refuse so to do indeed, because the death and precious blood of the Son of God, and his sacrifice, are utterly abolished there, and trodden under foot; 'For Christ by one sacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.' The apostle saith by one offering. For do we read in all the Scriptures, that either the prophets, Christ, or any of his apostles, ever said mass? They knew not what it meant. Christ indeed instituted the holy supper, in which all Christians communicate together, but they sacrifice not. If you please to read the Bible over, you will never find the mass once mentioned therein; therefore it is the mere invention of men. You know then what Christ saith, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' If either

myself, or any of mine had been at mass, which is ordained by the commandment of men, Christ would have told us, 'We had worshipped him in vain.'

"As for the second accusation, I will not deny, but there have met together in my house honest people fearing God; I assure you not with intention to wrong any, but rather for the advancement of God's glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the emperor had forbidden it, but what then? I knew also that Christ in his gospel had commanded it. 'Where two or three (saith he) are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' Thus you see I could not well obey the emperor, but I must disobey Christ. In this case then, I choose rather to obey my God than man."

One of the magistrates demanded what they did when they met together. To which Baudicon, the eldest son, answered, "If it please you, to give me leave, I will open the business at large unto you."

The sheriffs, seeing his promptness, looking upon one another, said, "Well, let us hear it." Baudicon, lifting up his eyes to heaven, began thus: "When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to hear the word of God, we first of all prostrate upon our knees before God, and, in the humility of our spirits, do make a confession of our sins before his Divine Majesty. Then we pray that the word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached: we also pray for our sovereign lord the emperor, and for all his honourable counsellors, that the commonwealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea, we forgot not you whom we acknowledge our superiors, entreating our good God for you, and for this whole city, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have exactly related unto you what we do: think you now, whether we have offended so highly in this matter of our assembling?"

While they were thus examined, each of them made an open confession of his faith; and, being returned again to prison, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confess who they were that frequented their house; but they would discover none, unless such as are well known to the judges, or else were at that time absent. Four or five days after, they were convened again before their judges, namely, the father and his two sons; and, after many words passed, they asked them whether they would submit themselves to the will of the magistrates. Robert Oguier, and Baudicon his son, with some deliberation, said, "Yea, we will."

Then, demanding the same of Martin, the younger brother, he answered, That he would not submit himself thereto, but would accompany his mother; so he was sent back again to

prison, whilst the father and the son were sentenced to be burnt alive. One of the judges, after sentence pronounced, said, "To-day you shall go to dwell with all the devils in hell-fire," which he spake as one transported with fury, in beholding the great patience of these two servants of Christ. Having received the sentence of death, they were returned to the prison from whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that honour to be enrolled in the number of his martyrs. They no sooner entered the prison, than a band of friars came thither: one amongst the rest told them, the hour was come in which they must finish their days. Robert Oguier and his son answered, "We know it well; but blessed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile prison, will receive our souls into his glorious and heavenly kingdom."

One of the friars endeavoured to turn them from their faith, saying, "Father Robert, thou art an old man, let me entreat thee in this thy last hour to think of saving thine own soul; and if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou shalt do well."

The old man answered, "Poor man, how darest thou attribute that to thyself which belongs to the eternal God, and so rob him of his honour? For it seems by thy speech, that if I will hearken to thee, thou wilt become my Saviour. No, no, I have only one Saviour, Jesus Christ, who, by and by, will deliver me from this miserable world. I have one doctor, whom the heavenly father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpose to hearken to none other."

Another exhorted him to take pity on his soul: "Thou willest me, (said Robert) to pity mine own soul, dost thou not see what pity I have on it, when, for the name of Christ, I willingly abandon this body of mine to the fire, hoping to-day to be with him in paradise? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Christ, his death and passion; he will direct me the right way to his kingdom. I believe what the holy prophets and apostles have written, and in that faith will I live and die." The friar hearing this, said, "Out, dog, thou art not worthy the name of a Christian; thou and thy son with thee are both resolved to damn your bodies and souls with all the devils in the bottom of hell."

As they were about to separate Baudicon from his father, he said, "Let my father alone, and trouble him not thus: he is an old man, and hath an infirm body; hinder him not, I pray you, from receiving the crown of martyrdom." Baudicon was then conveyed into a chamber apart, and there being stripped of his clothes, was prepared to be sacrificed. While one brought him gunpowder to put to his breast, an odd fellow standing by, said, "Wert thou my brother, I would sell all that I am worth to buy

faggots to burn thee—thou findest but too much favour." The young man answered, "Well, Sir, the Lord shew you more mercy." Whilst they spake thus to Baudicon, some of the friars pressed about the old man, persuading him at least to take a crucifix into his hands, "lest the people (said they) should murmur against you;" adding further, that he might for all that lift up his heart to God, "because you know (said they) it is but a piece of wood." Then they fastened it between his hands, but as soon as Baudicon was come down, and espied what they had done to his father, he said, "Alas! father, what do you now? will you play the idolater even at our last hour?" And then pulling the idol out of his hands, which they had fastened therein, he threw it away, saying, "What cause hath the people to be offended at us for not receiving a Jesus Christ of wood? We bear upon our hearts the cross of Christ, the Son of the ever-living God, feeling his holy word written therein in letters of gold."

A band of soldiers attended them to execution, no less than if a prince had been conducted into his kingdom. Being come to the place where they were to suffer, they ascended the scaffold; when Baudicon asked leave of the sheriffs to make a confession of his faith before the people: answer was made, that he was to look unto his spiritual father and confessor: "Confess yourself (said they) to him." He was then dragged to the stake, where he began to sing the 16th psalm. The friar cried out, "Do you not hear, my masters, what wicked errors these heretics sing, to beguile the people with?" Baudicon hearing him, replied, "How, simple idiot, callest thou the psalms of the prophet David errors? But, no wonder, for thus you are wont to blaspheme against the Spirit of God." Then turning his eyes towards his father, who was about to be chained to the stake, he said, "Be of good courage, father, the worst will be past by and by." Then he often reiterated these short breathings, "O God, Father everlasting, accept the sacrifice of our bodies, for thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ's sake. One of the friars cried out, "Heretic, thou liest, he is none of thy Father, the devil is thy father." And thus, during these conflicts, he bent his eyes to heaven, and speaking to his father, said, "Behold, I see the heavens open, and millions of angels ready prest to receive us, rejoicing to see us thus witnessing the truth in the view of the world. Father, let us be glad and rejoice, for the joys of heaven are set open to us." Fire was forthwith put to the straw and wood, which burnt beneath, whilst they (not shrinking from the pains) spake one to another; Baudicon often repeating this in his father's ears, "Faint not, father, nor be afraid: yet a very little while, and we shall enter into the

heavenly mansions." In the end, the fire growing hot upon them, the last words they were heard to pronounce, were, "Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our spirits." And thus these two slept sweetly in the Lord.

In eight days after, Jane the mother, and Martin her son, were executed in the same city.

But before we come to describe their happy ends, we will, as briefly as we can, take notice by the way, of the very great conflicts of spirit which both of them sustained.

There were sent unto them many of the popish rabble, to turn them from their faith. Now that this their devilish enterprise might the better be effected, they separated the one from the other, by the politic advice of a monk; the poor woman began to waver, and let go her first faith. At this their enemies rejoiced not a little, whilst the poor little flock of Christ, hearing such sad news, were in continual perplexity. but the Lord left them not in their mournful condition.

One day, a monk waited on her in the prison, counselling her to win over her son Martin, and to draw him from his errors; which she promised to do. But when he was come to his mother, and perceived that she was not only fallen, but also quite turned out of the right way, he began with tears to bewail her miserable state. "O mother, (said he) what have you done? Have you denied him who hath redeemed you? Alas! what evil hath he done you, that you should requite him with this so great an injury and dishonour? Now I am plunged into that woe, which I have most feared. Ah, good God, that I should live to see this, which pierceth me to the very heart!" His mother, hearing these his pitiful complaints, and seeing the tears which her son shed for her, began again to renew her strength in the Lord, and with tears cried out, "O Father of mercies, be merciful unto me a miserable sinner, and cover my transgressions; Lord, enable me with strength from above, to stand to my first confession, and make me to abide steadfast therein, even unto my last breath." It was not long after this change, that the same instrument of Satan, who had seduced her, came in, supposing to find her in the same mind wherein he left her: whom she no sooner espied, but, with detestation, she said, "Away, Satan, get thee behind me; for henceforth thou hast neither part nor portion in me. I will, by the help of God, stand to my first confession; and if I may not sign it with ink, I will seal it with my blood." And so, from that time, this frail vessel, who, for a while, relented, after her recovery, grew stronger and stronger. A certain temporiser said to Martin, "Thou silly youth, thou sayest thou knowest not what; thou art too much conceited of thyself, and of thy cause. Seest thou

not all these people here about thee? what thinkest thou of them? They believe not as thou dost, and yet I doubt not but they shall be saved. But you imagine to do that which will never come to pass, though you pretend ever so much that you are in the faith, and have the Scripture for you." The good woman hearing this, answered, "Sir, Christ Jesus our Lord saith, that it is the wide gate and broad way which leads to destruction, and therefore many go in thereat: but the gate," saith she, "is narrow that leads to life, and few there be that find it. Do ye then doubt whether we are in the straight way or not, when ye behold our sufferings? Would you have a better sign than this, to know whether we are in the right way or not? Compare our doctrine with that of your priests and monks: we, for our parts, are determined to have but one Christ, and him crucified: we only embrace the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Are we deceived in believing that which the prophets and holy apostles have taught?"

Soon after, Martin and his mother were bound and brought to the place of their martyrdom: his mother, having ascended the scaffold, cried to Martin, "Come up, come up, my son." And as he was speaking to the people, she said, "Speak out, Martin, that it may appear to all that we do not die heretics." Martin would have made a confession of his faith, but could not be suffered. His mother, being bound to the stake, spake, in the hearing of the spectators, "We are Christians; and that which we now suffer, is not for murder nor theft, but because we will believe no more than that which the word of God teacheth us:" both rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the same. The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did nothing abate the fervency of their zeal, but they continued constant in the faith, and, with lifting up their hands to heaven, in an holy accord said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hand we commend our spirits." And thus they blessedly slept in the Lord.

The duke of Guise, on his arrival at Joinville, asked, whether those of Vassy used to have sermons preached constantly by their minister? It was answered, they had, and that they increased daily. At the hearing of which report, he fell into a grievous passion; and, upon Saturday, the last day of February, 1562, that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath against the religious sort at Vassy, he departed from Joinville, accompanied with the cardinal of Guise, his brother, and those of their train, and lodged in the village of Dammartin, distant from Joinville about two French miles and a half.

The next day, after he had heard mass very early in the morning, being attended with about two hundred armed men, he left Dammartin, passing along to Vassy. As he went by the

village of Bronzeval, which is distant from Vassy a quarter of a mile, the bell rang for sermon. The duke hearing it, asked those he met, why the bell rang so loud at Vassy. A person, named La Montague, told him, it was for the assembling of the Hugonots; adding, that there were many in the said Bronzeval, who frequented the sermons preached at Vassy; therefore, that the duke would do well to begin there. But the duke answered, "March on, march on, we shall take them amongst the rest of the assembly."

Now, there were certain soldiers and archers accompanying the duke, who compassed about Vassy; most of them being lodged in the houses of papists. The Saturday before the slaughter, they were seen to make ready their weapons, arquebuses, and pistols; but the faithful not dreaming of such a conspiracy, thought the duke would offer them no hard measure, being the king's subjects; also that not above two months before, the duke and his brethren passing by near unto the said Vassy, gave no sign of their displeasure.

The duke of Guise being arrived at Vassy, with all his troops, they, with the duke La Brosse and La Montague, passed on in the said city with their soldiers, went directly towards the common hall or market house, and then entered into the monastery; where, having called to him one Dessales, the prior of Vassy, and another, whose name was Claud le Sain, being provost of the said Vassy, he talked a while with them, and issuing hastily out of the monastery, was attended by many of his followers. Then command was given to such as were papists, to retire into the monastery, and not to be seen in the streets, unless they would venture the loss of their lives. The duke, perceiving others of his retinue to be walking to and fro under the town-hall, and about the church-yard, commanded them to march on towards the place where the sermon was, being in a barn, about a hundred paces distant from the monastery. This command was by and by put in execution by such of the company as went on foot. He that marched foremost of this rabble, was La Brosse, and on the side of these marched the horsemen, after whom followed the duke with another company of his own followers, likewise those of the cardinal of Guise, his brother. By this time, Mr. Leonard Morel, the minister, after the first prayer, had begun his sermon before his auditors, which might amount to about 1200 persons, consisting of men, women, and children. The horsemen, first approaching to the barn, within about twenty-five paces, shot off two arquebuses right upon those who were placed in the galleries joining to the windows. The people within, perceiving that, endeavoured to shut the door,

but were prevented by the ruffians rushing in upon them, who, drawing their swords, furiously cried out, "Death of God, kill, kill these Hugonots."

The first they seized on was a crier of wine, that stood next the door, asking him if he were not a Hugonot; and in whom he believed. Having answered, that he believed in Jesus Christ, they smote him twice with a sword, which felled him to the ground. Having got up again, thinking to recover himself, they struck him the third time; whereby, being overcharged with wounds, he fell down, and died instantly. Two other men, at the same time, were slain at the entry of the said door, as they were pressing out to escape. Then did the duke of Guise, with his company, violently enter in among them, striking the poor people down with their swords, daggers, and cutlasses, not sparing any age or sex; besides, they within were so astonished, that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hither and thither, fell one upon another, fleeing as poor sheep before a company of ravening wolves entering in among the flock. Some of the murderers shot off their pieces against them that were in the galleries; others cut in pieces such as they lighted upon; some had their heads cleft in twain, their arms and hands cut off; so that many of them gave up the ghost even in the place. The walls and galleries of the said place were dyed with the blood of those who were every where murdered: yea, so great was the fury of the murderers, that part of the people were forced to break open the roof of the house, in hopes they might save themselves. Some of them leaped over the walls of the city, which were very high, fleeing into the woods and amongst the vines. The duke presented himself in the house with his sword drawn in his hand, charging his men to kill especially the young men. Only, in the end, women with child were spared. And pursuing those who went upon the house tops, they cried, "Come down, ye dogs, come down!" using many cruel threatening speeches to them. The cause why women with child escaped, was, as the report went, for the duchess's sake, his wife, who passing along by the walls of the city, and hearing so hideous outcries among these poor creatures, with the noise of the pieces and pistols continually discharging, sent, in all haste to the duke her husband, with much entreaties to cease his persecution, for frighting women with child.

During this slaughter, the cardinal of Guise remained before the church of the said city of Vassy, leaning upon the walls of the church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were busied in killing and slaying whom they could. Many of this assembly, being thus hotly pursued, did, in the first brunt, save

themselves upon the roof of the house, not being discerned by those who stood without: but, at length, some of this bloody crew espying where they lay hid, shot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and slain. The household servants of Dessales, prior of Vassy, shooting at the people on the roof; one of that wretched company was not ashamed to boast, after the massacre was ended, that he, for his part, had caused six, at least, to tumble down in that pitiful plight, saying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could possibly have escaped.

The minister, in the beginning of the massacre, ceased not to preach, till one discharged his piece against the pulpit where he stood, after which, falling down upon his knees, he entreated the Lord not only to have mercy upon himself, but also upon his poor persecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himself unknown; but whilst he approached towards the door, in his fear he stumbled upon a dead body, where he received a blow with a sword upon his right shoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold of, and grievously hurt on the head with a sword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and thinking himself mortally wounded, he cried, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, thou God of truth." While he thus prayed, one of this bloody crew ran upon him, with an intent to have ham-stringed him; but it pleased God his sword broke in the hilt. Two gentlemen taking knowledge of him, said, "He is the minister, let him be conveyed to my lord duke." These, leading him away by both arms, brought him before the gate of the monastery, from whence the duke and the cardinal his brother, coming forth, said, "Come hither;" and asked him, saying, "Art thou the minister of this place? Who made thee so bold to seduce this people thus?" "Sir," said the minister, "I am no seducer, for I have preached to them the gospel of Jesus Christ." The duke, perceiving that this answer condemned his cruel outrages, began to curse and swear, saying, "Death of God, doth the gospel preach sedition? Provost, go and let a gibbet be set up, and hang this fellow." At which words the minister was delivered into the hands of two pages, who misused him vilely. The women of the city, being ignorant papists, caught up dirt to throw in his face, and, with extended outcries, said, "Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cause of the death of so many." In the mean time, the duke went into the barn, to whom they presented a great Bible, which they used for the service of God. The duke, taking it into his hands, calling his brother, the cardinal, said, "Lo, here the title of

the Hugonot books." The cardinal, viewing it, said, "There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the Bible, to wit, the Holy Scriptures." The duke, being offended that his brother suited not to his humour, grew into a greater rage than before, saying, "Blood of God, how now? What! the Holy Scripture! It is one thousand five hundred years ago since Jesus Christ suffered his death and passion, and it is but a year since these books were printed, how then say you that this is the gospel? You say you know not what." This unbridled fury of the duke displeased the cardinal, so that he was heard secretly to mutter, "An unworthy brother!"

This massacre continued a full hour, the duke's trumpeters sounding the while two several times. When any of these desired to have mercy shewed them, for the love of Jesus Christ, the murderers, in scorn, would say unto them, "You use the name of Christ, but where is your Christ now?"

There died in this massacre, within a few days, fifty or threescore persons; besides those, there were about two hundred and fifty, as well men as women, that were wounded and spoiled, whereof some died, one losing a leg, another an arm, another his fingers. The poor's box, which was fastened to the door of the church with two iron hooks, containing twelve pounds, was wrested thence, and never restored.

The minister was closely confined, and frequently threatened to be sewed up in a sack and drowned. He was, however, on the 8th of May, 1563, liberated at the earnest suit of the Prince of Portien.

Monsieur Pierre de la Place, whose piety equalled his courage, was president of the court of requests at Paris. On Sunday morning, about six o'clock, captain Michael, arquebuser to the king, came armed into his lodging, and presenting himself before De la Place, said, that the duke of Guise had slain the admiral of France by the king's orders, with many Hugonots; and, because the rest of them, of what quality soever, were destined to death, he was come to his lodging to exempt him from the common destruction; and that he desired to have a sight of what gold and silver were in his possession. The lord De la Place, amazed at his audacity, who, in the midst of several persons present in the room, durst presume to utter such language, asked him if he knew where he was, or whether or not he thought there was a king? To this the captain roughly answered, that he must go with him to know the king's pleasure. De la Place, hearing this, began to apprehend some danger. He, therefore, slipped out at a back door, proposing to secret himself in a neighbour's house. Meanwhile, most of his servants disappeared; and the captain, having enriched himself with a thousand crowns,

was entreated by the lady Marets, daughter to the said lord, to convey her father, with the lord Marets, her husband, into the house of some Roman Catholic; which he consented to do, and also performed it.

De la Place, like a deer singled out for death, being refused admittance at three several houses, retired again into his own, where he found his wife overwhelmed with grief; but the lord De la Place, being strengthened by the Spirit of God, with incredible constancy, mildly demonstrated unto her, that we must receive afflictions from the hand of God, and consoled her with the promises of God. He then commanded all his servants that remained, to be called together, when, according to his custom on the Lord's day, he made an exhortation, and went to prayer. He then discoursed upon the justice and mercy of God, and shewed how needful afflictions were for Christians, and that it was beyond the power of Satan, or men, to hurt or wrong them, without permission of the Lord. "What need have we then (said he) to dread their authority, which, at the most, can but prevail over our bodies?" He then exhorted them rather to endure all sorts of torments, yea, death itself, than to speak or do any thing that might tend to the dishonour of God.

While thus employed, word was brought him, that Seneca, the provost-martial, with many archers, were at the door, demanding admittance in the king's name, saying, that he came to secure the person of the lord De la Place, and to preserve his house from being pillaged by the rabble. De la Place immediately commanded the door to be opened to him. Seneca, on entering, declared the great slaughter that was made upon the Hugonots every where in the city, by the king's command; adding, that he would not suffer one to live. "Yet I have express charge from his Majesty to see that you sustain no wrong; only suffer me to conduct you to the Louvre, because the king is desirous to be informed about the affairs of those of the religion which he hath now in hand." De la Place answered, that it had always been his greatest wish, and nothing could render him more happy, than to gain any opportunity by which he might give an account to his majesty of his behaviour and actions. But that such horrible massacres were every where committed, it was impossible for him to pass to the Louvre, without danger of his life: he therefore prayed him to assure his Majesty of his willingness to come, but to excuse his appearance until the fury of the people was somewhat abated. The provost agreed to this request, and left with him one of his lieutenants, with four of his archers.

Soon after, came president Charron, with whom the provost conferred a little in secret, and then left him with four more of

the city archers. The whole night following was spent in the stopping up, and fortifying all the passages and windows of the house, with logs and flint-stones, apparently for the well defence of De la Place and his family. Next day, Seneca, returning, declared that he had express charge from the king to bring him to his Majesty without delay. He replied as before, that it was dangerous as yet to pass through the city. But Seneca insisted, saying, It was the common speech of these Hugonots, to protest that they were the king's most loyal and obedient subjects and servants; but when they were to manifest their obedience to his commands, then they came but slowly, seeming rather to abhor and detest it. And whereas he pretended danger, Seneca answered, that he should have a captain of Paris, well known to the people, to accompany him. At that moment, the captain, named Pazon, a principal actor in this sedition, entered, and offered his service to conduct him to the king. De la Place refused, telling Seneca, that Pazon was one of the most cruel and bloody-minded men in all the city; and, therefore, seeing that he must go to the king, he entreated him to be his guard. Seneca, answered, that having now other affairs to look unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

The lady of De la Place then prostrated herself at the feet of Seneca, beseeching him to accompany her husband to the king; but her husband, who never shewed any sign of a dejected spirit, came to her, and lifting her from the ground, told her, that it was not an arm of flesh that we must stoop to, but unto God only. Then turning round, he perceived in his son's hat a white cross, which he had placed there to delude the enemy. His father, however, sharply chid him, and commanded him to pluck that mark of apostacy thence; telling him, that they must now submit to bear the true cross of Christ, namely, those afflictions and tribulations which it shall please God to lay upon us, as pledges of that eternal happiness, which he hath treasured up for his servants. Being now pressed by Seneca, to go, as he foresaw, to death, he took his cloak, and, embracing his wife, earnestly exhorted her above all things to have the fear of God, and his honour, in precious esteem; and then boldly went on his way. Coming into the street where the glass-house stood, certain murderers, who waited his approach, with their daggers in readiness, killed him, as an innocent lamb, in the midst of Seneca's archers, who led him into that butchery. They then plundered his house of all they could find, while his body being dragged into a stable, they covered his face over with dung, and the next day threw him into the river.

Philip le Doux, a great jeweller, on his return from a journey, had gone to bed; his wife at that time had the midwife attending

upon her, and was ready to be delivered, when she heard the furies below thundering at the door, and commanding it to be opened to them in the king's name. Ill as she was, she ventured down, and opened it to these tigers, who presently stabbed her husband in his bed. The midwife, seeing them bent to murder the woman also, now ready to be delivered, entreated them to stay, at least till the infant was born. They, notwithstanding, took this poor woman, half dead with fear, and stabbed her in the belly, then threw her out of a window into the street.

One of the murderers having snatched up a little child in his arms, the poor innocent babe began to play with his beard, and to smile upon him; but, instead of being moved to compassion, the barbarian wounded it with his dagger, and threw it all in gore into the river.

Quintin Croyer, an elder of the reformed church, seeing many of his companions murdered before his eyes at the massacre at Meaux, kneeled down and prayed God to pardon these murderers; at which they fell a laughing, and not being able with their daggers to pierce a jerkin of double buff which he wore, and which they were loth to spoil, (for it was a good booty) they cut asunder the points, and then gave him five or six stabs with a dagger into his body.

Faron Haren, formerly sheriff of the city, a man zealously affected to religion, having chased the mass out of Meaux, was mortally hated by the papists. They were, in consequence, not contented simply to kill him, but, first cutting off his nose, ears, and secret parts, they gave him many small thrusts in divers parts of his body, and drove him to and fro among them. Still being weakened, and not able any longer to hold out, from loss of blood that issued from all parts of his body, he fell dead upon the ground.

When news arrived at Trois of the massacre at Paris, the greater part of the judges and officers of the king went to the bailiff, and commanded a diligent search for those of the reformed religion, and to imprison all they could find.

In the city was a merchant, named Peter Belin, a man of a turbulent temper. This man was at the massacre in Paris, on St. Bartholomew's day, and was despatched thence with letters from the king, dated the 28th of August, to the mayor and sheriffs of Trois, to cause all persecutions to cease, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. He did not, however, arrive till the 3d of September, and, on entering Trois, proceeded to the house of the bailiff, a man of the same stamp as himself. They agreed, before they published the letters, to murder all the Hugonots who were in prison; and, to make it appear, that this

act was sanctioned by authority, they requested the assistance of the city executioner, whose name was Charles.

The man, however, more just and humane than they, peremptorily refused to have any hand in an act of so great cruelty; answering, that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before sentence of death had first been pronounced by the magistrates; and that he would not presume, without a warrant, to deprive any man of his life; with these words he left them. Upon this, the bailiff sent for one of the gaolers of the prison, but he being confined by sickness, Martin de Bures was sent to know his pleasure. The bailiff told him what Belin had signified to him in private; as also, that on a sudden all the prisoners of the reformed religion must die, that the place might be purged of them; "and this (said he) you must do."

De Bures, however, made no haste to execute the command, acquainting no man with aught that passed between the bailiff and him; not even Perrenet the keeper, then sick in bed.

The day following, the bailiff came to the prison, and calling for Perrenet, who was then recovered, asked him, with a smile, "Whether it was done?" "What?" said Perrenet, knowing nothing of it. "Why," said the bailiff, "are not the prisoners despatched?" and was ready with his dagger to have stabbed him. But coming a little to himself, he told Perrenet his purpose, and how he was to behave himself concerning the execution thereof. At this, Perrenet, standing amazed, (though otherwise forward enough to commit any outrages against the Protestants) certified to the bailiff, that such an inhuman act could not be committed over to him, apprehending, that, in time to come, justice might be followed against him by the parents or friends of the prisoners. "No, no," said the bailiff, "fear not, I will stand between you and all harms. Others of the justices have consented thereunto besides myself, and would you have better security than that?"

In a short time after, the gaoler coming into the court of the prison, where the prisoners were abroad recreating themselves, ordered each to his cabin, "because (said he) the bailiff is coming to see whether the keepers have done their duty." Then began these poor sheep to fear they were destined to the slaughter, and therefore went presently to prayers. Perrenet now called his companions about him, reported to them what the bailiff had given him in charge, on which they all took an oath to execute the same; but, approaching near unto the prisoners, they were so surprised with fear, and their hearts so failed them, that they stood gazing upon one another, having no courage to act such a deed: they, therefore, returned to the lodge, without doing any thing.

This repugnance, however, was of short duration; for, instead of considering it as a warning from above, they sent for sixteen pints of wine, thereby to drown every spark of conscience. Having drank which, they drew a list of prisoners; which they delivered to one who was to call them forth in order.

The first that came forth was *Meurs*, who was no sooner in their sight, than one of them thrust at him with the point of his halbert, redoubling the same often, with intent to kill him; on which, the poor man took hold of the point, and, pointing it himself to his heart, cried to the murderer, "Here, soldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart!" and was instantly slain.

When the masacre was ended, the murderers made a great pit on the back side of the chapel of the prison, where they cast the bodies, some of them yet breathing. One called *Maufere*, lying in the midst of them, being observed to raise himself above his fellow-martyrs, they poured earth upon him until they had stifled him. The blood ran in such abundance out at the prison door, and thence through a channel into a river, that it was turned into the colour of blood.

Next day, the sanguinary bailiff of Trois, caused the king's letters to be published in all corners of the city, with sound of trumpet.

Dechampeaux, lord of Bonilli, a counsellor of Orleans, was murdered in the following manner: One Texier came with small troop to his house, inviting himself and company to supper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, being ignorant of what had happened at Paris. But supper being ended, Texier bade him deliver his purse, at which, Dechampeaux laughed, thinking he had been in jest. But this cruel guest, with blasphemous oaths, told him, in a few words, what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparations there were among the Roman Catholics of Orleans, to root out the Protestants there. Dechampeaux, finding it in vain to contest with him, gave him money; when, to requite the courtesy and good entertainment he had received, Texier embrued his hands in the blood of his virtuous neighbour, a man of as upright a carriage as was in all the city; afterwards he, with his troop, pillaged the house.

On the 26th day of August following, the assasins began the execution about the ramparts, in a violent manner. All night was heard nothing but the firing of guns and pistols, forcing open of doors and windows, fearful outcries of the massacred, both of men, women, and little children, trampling of horses, and rumbling of carts, hurrying off dead bodies to and fro; the street resounding with exclamations of "the poor," with horrible

blasphemies of the murderers, laughing at their barbarous exploits.

On Wednesday the massacre began more fiercely, and so continued to the end of the week: "Where is now your God?" cried the murderers; "What is become of all your prayers and psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, save you if he can." Yea, some of them, who had been professors of the same religion, whilst they were massacring the poor innocents, sung unto them, in scorn, the beginning of the 43d psalm: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause." Others, striking them, said, sing now, "Have mercy on me, O God." But these execrable outrages by no means damped the courage of the Christians, who died steadfast in the faith. The murderers boasted, that, in this city, they caused eighteen thousand men to perish, a hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upwards. The manner of their death was, first to shoot them with pistols, then to strip them, and either sink their bodies in the river, or bury them in pits.

At night, several of this bloody crew knocked at the door of a doctor of the civil law, called *Taillebous*; who, opening a casement, and understanding that they had somewhat to say to him, came down immediately, and opened the door to them. At the first greeting they told him he must die. Whereupon he uttered a prayer to heaven with such zeal and affection, that the murderers being astonished, and restrained by a secret power, contented themselves with taking his purse, in which were fifteen crowns, and so left him.

The day following, some students resorted to his lodging, requested to see his library, into which having brought them, one asked this book of him, and another that, which he gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet satisfied, their purpose being to kill him. He, prostrating himself upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, willed them to kill him there, but they forced him out of his own house, from one place to another, and, at length, knocked him down.

A rich burgess of the city, called *Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Nove*, a man of singular worth, and highly esteemed, was, at that time, dangerously ill. Some of the murderers came into his chamber with a purpose to kill him: but, seeing him in that case, spared him: yet finding there *Noel Chaperon*, an apothecary, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day, an acquaintance came to the lodging of Nicholas Bougars; as he was entering in, he met the mother of the sick party at the door. He then proceeded up into the

chamber, stabbed Nicholas with a dagger in many places, and so killed a dying man. Then, with all silence, as if he had done no such act, wiping his dagger, he went down stairs again, without any change in his behaviour or countenance.

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened to have his throat cut if he refused the murderers money; but, having got none about him, he wrote to his wife, to send him his ransom: he had no sooner sealed the letter, but the monsters deprived him thereof, and his life also, laughing at what they had done. And though they got from his widow a considerable sum of money, yet could she not obtain from them the body of her husband.

Among those that confessed the name of Jesus Christ, *Francis le Bossu*, a merchant, with his two sons, well deserve our notice: for whilst he trampled in the blood of his brethren, being besmeared therewith, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently, using this speech: "Children, we are not to learn now, that it hath always been the portion of believers, to be hated, cruelly used, and devoured by unbelievers, as Christ's sheep, of ravening wolves; if we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him. Let not those drawn swords terrify us; which only serve to cut that thread which ties us to a miserable life, and let loose the soul into endless felicity. We have resided long enough among the wicked, let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great company which is here gone before us, and let us make way for them that shall follow after." When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they likewise embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler to his children; and the children, as if, by the bond of nature, they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their father, though with the loss of their own lives; and, thus embracing, were all three found dead.

At the conclusion of this furious assault, these cruel monsters went up and down the city, displaying their white doublets, all sprinkled with blood; some boasting, that they had killed a hundred, some more, some less.

Those of Dauphine, of Languedoc, and Provence, were amazed to see so many bodies floating upon the water, some dismembered, others fastened together with long poles, others lying on the shore, some having their eyes put out, others their noses, ears, and hands cut off, stabbed with daggers in every part of their body, some among them having no shape remaining.

Not many months after, when these tragedies were ended, the pope sent cardinal Uursin, as legate to the king, who was received with great solemnity at Lyons. On his return from St. John's church, where he had been to hear mass, a great number

of persons presented themselves before him, at the door, and kneeled down for his absolution. But the legate not knowing the reason of it, one of the leaders told him, they were those who had been the actors in the massacre. On which, the cardinal immediately absolved them all with making the sign of the cross.

As soon as the massacre commenced at Paris, a gentleman, named Monsoreau, obtained a passport, with letters to massacre the Protestants at Angiers. Being disappointed of his prey in one place, he came to the lodging of a reverend and learned minister, Mr. John Mason, sirnamed de Launay, sieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at the entrance of the house, he saluted and kissed her, as is the manner in France, especially among the courtiers, and asked her, "where her husband was?" She answered him, "That he was walking in his garden;" and directed him unto him.

Monsoreau, having lovingly embraced la Riviere, said unto him, "Do you know wherefore I am come? The king hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me express charge to do it, as you shall see by his letters." After which words he shewed him a pistol ready charged. Riviere replied, "That he knew not wherein he had offended the king; but, seeing," saith he, "you seek my life, give me a little time to recommend my spirit into the hands of God."

Having made a short prayer, he presented his body to the murderer, who shot him immediately. The minister's wife was soon after drowned with nine others; and six thousand were murdered at Rouen in much the same manner.

About three hundred were barbarously murdered at Toulouse, and, after taking all their goods, they stripped them naked, and exposed them to public view for two days, and then threw them in heaps into great pits. There were certain counsellors, who, after they were massacred, were hung up in their long gowns, upon a great elm which was in the court of the palace.

The massacre at Bourdeaux was begun and carried on much in the same manner as those before-mentioned. But their ministers found means to escape, hiding themselves in the rocks and marshes, till they had an opportunity to take shipping for England.

One thing is richly worthy of notice. The house of a counsellor in parliament was forced open, pillaged, and spoiled. His clerk seeing his master about to suffer a cruel death, embraced and comforted him: and, being asked, whether he were of the same religion, he answered, "Yea, and would die with his master for the same." And they were slain in one another's arms.

Du Tour, a deacon of the reformed church, an old man, who, in the days of his ignorance, had been a priest in the popish church, being sick in his bed, was dragged into the open street, and was asked, "whether he would go to mass, and thereby save his life?" He freely answered, "No, particularly as I am now drawing so near my end, both from age and sickness: I hope," saith he, "I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for thus I should buy a short term of life at too dear a rate:" on which they slew him instantly.

The poor Protestants wandered up and down, not knowing where to save their lives: some were rejected of their own parents and relations, who shut their doors against them, pretending that they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by those to whose trust they had committed themselves: many were saved even by priests and others, from whom a man would have expected no such security. Some were saved by their very enemies, whose hearts abhorred such detestable outrages. All the city was full of terror and horrible threats against them, saying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have so much as one of them left in his kingdom; and, if any refused to go to mass, that a hole should be digged for him in the earth, in which he should be buried without any more ado.

The judgment of God was manifested upon one of these inhuman murderers, called Vincent: he fell dangerously sick, but, in the end, recovering again, as he thought, told some of his friends, that he felt his arms strong enough to handle his cutlass as well as ever. But, shortly after, he was overtaken by the hand of God, with such a flux of bleeding at his nose, as could not be restrained nor diverted by any of the remedies that were then used. It was an hideous sight to see him still bowing his head over a bason full of blood, which, without ceasing, issued out of his nose and mouth, until his last gasp.

Another was taken with such a swelling in all the parts of his body, that there was scarcely to be discerned the form of a man, and thus he continued swelling, till, at length, he burst asunder.

Sancerre, in the year 1573, was the place where the faithful fled for refuge. It was soon encompassed with irreconcileable enemies, in the beginning of April. The want of provisions was soon felt by the inhabitants; on which, they collected together all the asses and mules they had in the city; these were eaten up in less than a month. They then killed the horses and dogs; after these were exhausted, they seized the cats, rats, moles, mice, and every other animal and vermin they could find. These being eaten, they fed on ox and cow-hides, sheep-skins, parchment, old shoes, bullocks and horse-hoofs, horns, and lanterns,

ropes, and horse-harness, leather girdles, &c. Towards the end of June, a third part of the besieged had not bread to eat. Such as could get hemp-seed, ground it, or stamped it in mortars, and made bread of it: the like they did with all sorts of herbs, mingling them with bran, if they had it. They also eat meal of chaff, nut-shells, and excrements of horses and men; and even the offal which lay in the streets.

The 29th of July, a poor man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, brains, and entrails of a child, three years old, which died of hunger; having prepared the other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman, who lodged in their house, eating a part of this mournful diet, died in prison, within a few hours after her imprisonment. Many children, under twelve years of age, unable to bear the famine, died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful groans uttered by poor parents, on beholding their languishing and dying infants.

A boy of ten years old, being ready to yield up the ghost, seeing his father and mother weeping over him, said unto them, "Wherefore weep ye thus, in seeing me famished to death? Mother," said he, "I ask you no bread, I know you have none: but, seeing it is God's will I must die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man Lazarus die of famine? have I not read it in my Bible?" In uttering these, with the like speeches, he expired the 30th of July.

That all the people died not of famine, was by reason of some horses, which were reserved for service, if needs should be, and six cows, which were left to give milk for the sustenance of young infants. These beasts were killed, and their flesh sold for the relief of such as were living, with a little corn, which by stealth some brought into the city. A pound of wheat was sold for half-a-crown.

Not more than 84 persons died by the hand of the enemy, but of the famine more than five hundred. Many soldiers, in order to avoid the lingering death of hunger, fled from the city, and chose rather to die by the sword of the enemy; whereof some were slain, others imprisoned, and the rest put to death.

Every hope seemed cut off from them, and death appeared both within and without their walls; and so far was the king of France from relenting at their hapless state, that, enraged at their courage, he swore they should eat up one another. But the King of kings had ordained it otherwise; for the election of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Poland, caused a general pacification, and the Protestants once more enjoyed liberty of conscience and freedom from persecution.

In the year 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named *Henry Voes*, aged 24 years, and the other, *John Esch*,

who before had been of the order of the Augustine friars.—They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their friars' weed, at the suit of Egmondanus, the pope's inquisitor, and the divines of Louvaine; because they would not retract their doctrine of the gospel, which the papists call *Lutheranism.* Their examiners demanded of them, what they believed? They said, the books of the Old and New Testament, wherein were contained the articles of their creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the decrees of the councils, and of the fathers? They said, such as agreed with the Scripture they believed. They were asked, whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? That, said they, is to be attributed only to the precepts of God, to bind the conscinece of man, or to loose it: in which they constantly persisting, were condemned to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God, who had delivered them from that false and abominable priesthood, and made them priests of his holy order. A bill was written, and read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest error that they were accused of, was, that men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as men are liars and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

As they were led to the place of execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully, protesting, that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had long desired.

After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried some time in their shirts, and joyfully embraced the stake they were to be bound to, patiently enduring whatsoever was done unto them, praising God, and rehearsing the creed in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their cheerfulness, reproved Henry for his vain glory. To whom he answered, God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ. Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, I trust that I carry him truly in my heart. One of them, seeing that the fire was kindled at his feet, said, Methinks ye do strew roses under my feet. Finally, the smoke and the flame, mounting up to their faces, choked them.

Henry being asked, whether Luther had seduced him or not? Yea, said he, even as Christ seduced his apostles. He said also, that it was contrary to God's law, that the clergy should be

exempted from the jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained by the bishops, have no power, but only to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock.

After their death, their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp. The president thereof, by the papists called Jacobus Lutherianus, after various troubles and afflictions, was forced to recant at Brussels; but afterward, his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther.

The year after the burning of these two Christian martyrs at Brussels, with like tyranny also was martyred and burned, without any order of judgment or just condemnation, near the city of Diethmar, in Germany, one *Henry Sutphen*, monk, anno 1524.

This Sutphen had been before with Martin Luther, and afterwards coming to Antwerp, was from thence excluded for the gospel, and came to Bremen, not with a design to preach, but he intended to go to Wittemberg. At Bremen he was persuaded by certain godly citizens, to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel. He made his first sermon the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them; which, for fear of danger, for a time, he refused.

When the Catholics heard thereof, especially the canons, monks, and priests, they endeavoured to oppress him, and thrust both him out of the city, and also the gospel of Christ, (for that was their chief seeking.) They went to the senate, desiring that such an heretic might be banished the town, who preached against the Catholic church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached; who being come together, the senate declared unto them the complaint of the canons and the other religious men. The citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered, that they knew none other but that they had engaged a learned and honest man to preach unto them, who should teach them, sincerely and truly, the word of God. Notwithstanding, if the chapter-house, or any other men, could bring testimonial or witness that the preacher had taught any thing which either savoured of heresy, or was repugnant to the word of God, they were ready, with the chapter-house, to prosecute him; for God forbid that they should maintain a heretic. But if the canons and other religious men will not shew, that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set on by malice to drive him away, they would not, by any means, suffer the same. Whereupon they desired

the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

This answer the senate commanded to be declared to the chapter-house. When they understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out into a fury, they began to threaten, and went to the archbishop, to certify him that the citizens of Bremen were become heretics, and would no longer obey their priests, with many other like things in their complaint; so that it was to be feared lest the whole city shortly should be seduced. When the bishop heard these things, he sent two, who were of his council, to Bremen, requiring that Henry should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded, why they should send him? they answered, because he preached against the holy church. Being asked, in what points or articles? they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the bishop's suffragan, who sought all means possible to carry away Henry captive. Finally, they received this answer of the senators, That, forasmuch as the preacher, being engaged by the church-wardens, had not hitherto been convicted of any heresy, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they said, they could, by no means, obtain of the citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Bremen, to dispute with him; and, if he were convicted, they promised, without delay, that he should be justly punished, and sent away: if not, they would, in no wise, let him depart. Whereunto the suffragan answered, with a great protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands, for the quietness of the whole country, taking God to his witness, that, in this behalf, he sought for nothing else, but only the safety of his country. But for all this they could not prevail, for the senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the suffragan, being moved with anger, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their children.

When he came unto the bishop, he declared the answer of the senate, and what he had heard and learned of the priests and monks there. Afterward, when daily news came that the preacher did still more and more preach, and teach more heinous matter against the religious rout, they attempted another way, by suborning great men to admonish the citizens of Bremen into what jeopardy their commonwealth might fall, by means of their preacher, preaching contrary to the decree of the pope and emperor. Besides, they said, that he was the prisoner of the lady

Margaret; for which cause they had gotten letters of the lady Margaret, requiring to have her prisoner sent unto her again.

All these crafts and subtleties did not prevail, for the senate of Bremen answered all things without blame. When the bishop saw this his enterprise also frustrate, he attempted another way, whereby he hoped, that both he, and also the word of God with him, should be wholly oppressed. Whereupon they decreed a provincial council, not to be held at Bremen, as it was accustomed, but at Bucstade, which place they thought most meet for their purpose.

To this council were called the prelates and learned men of the diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereunto to trust.

Also to the said council was Henry called, notwithstanding they had already decreed to proceed against him as a manifest heretic, although he was not yet convicted, nor had pleaded his cause before them. But the rulers of the city, together with the commonality, detained him at home, foreseeing the malice of the council. Then the said Henry gathered the sum of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters, unto the archbishop, asserting his innocency, offering himself to be ready, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the holy Scripture, to recant the same: notwithstanding, earnestly requiring, that his errors might be convicted by the holy Scriptures, by the testimony whereof he had hitherto proved his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same. But this took no place amongst those anointed prelates; what the determination of their judgment was, may be gathered, for, shortly after, they set upon the church porch, the bull of pope Leo X. and decree of the emperor, made at Worms. But Henry, contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, That he was ready willingly to give account touching his faith and doctrine, to every man that would require the same.

In the mean time, the Catholics could not be idle, but sent their chaplains unto every sermon, to entrap him in his words. But God, whose foot-paths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them: insomuch that the greater part of those who were sent to hearken, did openly witness his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard; persuading them likewise, that they, forsaking all impiety, should follow the word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief priests, canons, and monks, were so hardened and blinded, that they became the worse for

these admonitions. When God saw the proper time that Henry should confirm the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel murderers, appointed for that slaughter, in the following manner:

It happened in the year 1524, that this Henry was sent for by Nicholas Boy, parish priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorph, a town in Diethmar, to preach the gospel unto them, and deliver them out of the bondage of Antichrist, which in that place had full dominion.

These letters being received upon St. Catherine's evening, calling together six brethren, honest citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of Diethmar, to preach the gospel; adding, moreover, that he was not only a debtor unto them, but to all other which required his aid. Wherefore, he thought good to go to Diethmar, to see what God would work by him, requiring also, that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might best take his journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the gospel had not taken so deep root in the people, but was as yet weak, and especially in the villages thereabout, and that the persecution was very great; willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching; and, if they of Diethmar desired a preacher, he should send some other in his place, for they had before perceived the disposition and unsteadiness of them of Diethmar: besides that, it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole commonality. Whereunto Henry made answer, That although he could not deny but that he was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly men at Bremen, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching the gospel. Besides, that the papists were for the most part vanquished, and their folly known, even unto women and children; adding, that he had now preached the gospel for two years at Bremen, and that they of Diethmar lived without a pastor even in the midst of wolves; wherefore, he could not, with a safe conscience, deny their request. And whereas they alleged that they could not license him without the consent of the whole congregation; that, said he, was but of small effect, forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of Diethmar for a month or two, to lay a foundation, and then to return again; desiring them, that, after his departure, they would declare unto the congregation, how he was sent for by them of Diethmar, to whom he could not

say nay; willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his adversaries privily lying in wait in every place for him. Finally, they should promise to the congregation, in his name, that when he had performed his enterprise, he would return again. They being persuaded with these words, consented unto him, hoping that they of Diethmar should be converted to the true Christian faith; which people, above all other, have been always given to idolatry.

On the 22d of October he came to Meldorph, whither he was sent for; where he was joyfully received by the parish priest and others. Though he had not yet preached, the devil, with his members, began to fret for anger; above all other, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the black friars, went to Mr. J. Swicken, commissary to the official of Hamburg, to take counsel what was to be done. It was decreed by them that he should not have licence to preach; for if by any means he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks would be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist, remembering what had happened lately in Bremen.

The prior, the next day, early in the morning, (for he had not slept well all night for cares) went, with great speed, unto Heida, to speak with the eight and forty presidents of the country; unto whom, with great complaints, he stated, that a seditious fellow, a monk, was come from Bremen, who would seduce all the people of Diethmar, as he had done those of Bremen. Mr. Gunterus, chancellor of the country, and Petrus Hannus, both enemies to the gospel, assisted the prior, persuading the other forty-six, being simple and unlearned men, that they should obtain great favour and good-will of the bishop of Bremen, if they should put this heretic monk to death; upon which they decreed that he should be put to death, neither heard nor seen, much less convicted.

This prior also obtained letters from the forty-eight presidents to the parish priest, commanding him, under great penalty, that he should put the monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came speedily to Meldorph, and delivered them overnight to the parish priest; trusting, that, by their threatenings, Henry should be prevented from preaching.

When the parish priest had read over the letters, he marvelled at that proud commandment, for that it had not been heard of before, that the forty-eight presidents should meddle with ecclesiastical matters, and it being usual that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the parish priest; it having

been decreed by the whole province, that, in every church, the parish priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the preacher. These letters the parish priest delivered to Henry; which when he had read, he answered, that, as he was come, being sent for by the congregation, to preach the gospel of Christ, he would satisfy that vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable to the whole congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God than man. Also, that if it pleased God that he should lose his life in Diethmar, that was as near a way to heaven as from any other place; for he doubted not, that once he must suffer for the gospel's sake.

Accordingly, the next day, Henry went up into the pulpit, and expounded Rom. i. 9, "God is my witness," &c. and the gospel of the day. After the sermon, the whole congregation being called together, the prior delivered the letters that were sent by the 48 presidents, the tenor whereof was this: "That they of Meldorph should be fined with a fine of a thousand gilders, if they suffered the monk to preach; and commanded moreover that they should send ambassadors unto Heida with full power and authority." When they heard these letters read, they were much moved, because they were so charged contrary to the custom of the country; as every parish priest hath always had authority, according to his discretion, to choose or put away the preacher; and they all determined to keep Henry for their preacher, and to defend him; for when they had heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the prior.

After dinner, Henry preached again, expounding Rom. xv. 1, "We ought which are strong," &c. The next day the citizens of Meldorph sent their messengers to Heida, offering to answer before all men for their preacher, whom they had received. Besides that, the messengers declared what christian and godly sermons they heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters to the forty-eight rulers, wherein he excused himself, that it never was the intention of the said Henry to move sedition, but only sincerely to preach the word of God, and offered himself to answer for the said Henry to all men, whensoever he should be called; desiring them not to give credit to the monks, who being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the truth; saying, that it was against all reason that a man should be condemned before he was tried, and his cause declared; and if, after due inquisition, he should be convicted, then he should suffer condign punishment.

This submission, with the public testimonial, was not regarded, neither was there any answer given thereto, but every man repined and murmured at it. At last, one Peter Deletheues, one of the seniors, answered, That although there were dissensions

in every place about the Christian faith, and that they could not repress the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the judgment of determining this dissention should be reserved to the next council, which was now about to be called. Also, until all dissention should be appeased, whatsoever was received and believed by their neighbours, he promised, in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the word of God had not hitherto been clearly preached, as they said, and there be now some which can teach and preach the same more sincerely, it is not their mind to resist their good doings; but that the presidents would wish this one thing to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move sedition; and in the mean time, he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters unto Easter next. With this answer they were all very well contented; and the messengers returned to Meldorph with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation what answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to pass.

Upon St. Nicholas' day, this Henry preached twice, first upon the gospel, "A certain nobleman," &c. secondly upon this text, "There are many made priests," &c. with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a preacher. Upon the day of the Conception of our Lady, he also made two sermons upon the first chapter of Matthew, expounding the book of the Generation; wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God unto our forefathers, and under what faith they had lived; adding, also, that all works being set apart, we must be justified by the same faith. These things were spoken with so much boldness, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great mercy, that he had sent them such a preacher, desiring him to tarry with them all Christmas to preach, for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place.

In the mean time, the prior, and master John Schink, were not idle: for when the prior perceived that his malicious enterprise had no success, he took a companion, William, a doctor of the Jacobines, and went to Laudanum, to the Franciscan monks and minors, for help and counsel. For those friars, above all others, are best qualified, by their hypocrisy, to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars sent for the rulers, and especially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; to whom they declared what an heretic monk had preached, and how he had obtained the favour almost of all the simple people; which if they did not withstand, and put the heretic to

death, the honour of our Lady, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, should utterly come to ruin and decay.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved. Whereunto Peter Swine answered, That they had before written unto the parish priest and to Henry, what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. "No, (said the prior) this must be attempted another way: for if you write to the heretic, he will, by and by, answer you again. And it is to be feared, lest the contagion of his heresy also infect you, being unlearned men: for if you give him leave to speak and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him." Wherefore they finally determined to take Henry by night, and burn him before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan friars.

Peter Hannus, the friars chief friend, willing to get the chief praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of Mr. Gunter, associated with eleven other rulers of the towns near adjoining. These presidents, and all other that were concerned in this business, assembled together in the house of Mr. Gunter, where also the chancellor was consulting with them, how they might burn the said Henry secretly, coming upon him without any judgment or sentence. They concluded the next day after the Conception of our Lady, to meet at Henning, five miles from Meldorph, with a great band of husbandmen. They placed scouts in every place, that there should no news of their intended mischiefs come to Meldorph; commanding, that as soon as it began to be dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the country, unto whom was declared the cause of their assembly, and they were instructed what was to be done; for before no man knew the cause of the assembly, but only the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back, refusing such a detestable and horrid deed. The presidents, with most bitter threats, kept them in obedience; and, that they should be the more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburgh beer to drink.

About midnight they came armed to Meldorph. The jacobines and monks prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away in the dark. They had also with them a traitor, named Hennegus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they rushed into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoiling all things. If they found 'ther gold or silver, they took it away. After which they violently fell upon the parish priest, crying out, "Kill the thief!

kill the thief!" Some of them took him by the hair of the head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as prisoner: others said, that the parish priest was not to be meddled with, for they had no commission to take him.

After they had satisfied their rage upon the parish priest, with great fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands behind him; and they drew him to and fro so long, that Peter Hannus, who was otherwise unmerciful, and a cruel persecutor, desired them to let him alone, for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Balco, who rather drew him by violence than led him. When he was brought to Hemingstate, they asked him how and for what intent he came to Diethmar? Unto whom he declared the whole cause of his coming. But they all in a rage cried out, "Away with him, away with him; for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared he will make us also heretics." Then he, being weary and faint, required to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, "Must we hire a horse for a heretic? he shall go a-foot, whether he will or not." Because it was night they carried him naked to Heida, and bound him there with chains in the stocks. He was afterwards carried to a priest's house, of Hamburgh, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept by the rude people, who all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst others there came to him Simon, in Altennord, and Christian, parish priest of the new church, both alike wicked and ignorant persecutors of the word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy habit? Unto whom he answered by the Scriptures; but they understood nothing what he said. Mr. Gunterus also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Diethmar? Unto whom Henry answered, "If I have preached any thing contrary to God's word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me. Gunterus answered, Hark, I pray you, good friends, hark, he desireth to suffer in Diethmar. The common people continued all the night in immoderate drinking.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the market-place, to consult what they should do; where the country people, boiling with drink, cried out, "Burn him! burn him! to the fire with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great glory and praise, both of God and man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will seduce

with his heresy." What need many words? Sure he was to die; for they had condemned him, without any judgment, (his cause not being heard) to be burned. At last they commanded the crier to proclaim, That every man that was at the taking of him should be ready armed to bring him forth to the fire. Amongst others, the Franciscan friars were present, encouraging the drunken people, saying, "Now you go the right way to work." Then they bound Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the fire. As he passed by, a certain woman standing in her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly: unto whom Henry turning himself, said, I pray you weep not for me. When he came to the fire, for very weakness he sat down upon the ground. There was present one of the presidents, named May, who was known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose; he condemned Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him:

"Forasmuch as this thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady; by the commandment and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Bremen, and my lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with fire."

Unto whom Henry answered, I have done no such thing; and, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he said, O Lord, forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy name, O Almighty God, is holy.

In the mean time, the wife of one Jungar, sister of Peter Hannus, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that they would pacify the matter, and keep him in prison, until he might plead his matter before the whole convocation of the country. When they had heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman down under feet, and trod upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the country people struck him behind on the head with a sharp dagger: John Holmes, of the new church, struck him with a mace; others thrust him in the back, and in the arms; and this was done as often as he began to speak. M. Gunter encouraged them, saying, "Go to boldly, good fellows; truly God is with us present!"

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar unto Henry, that he should be confessed. Whom Henry demanded in this manner: Brother, when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger? Never, said the friar. What should I then confess unto you, said he, that you think you might forgive me? The friar, being moved at these words, departed.

The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burn; notwith-

standing, they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kinds of weapons; the said Henry standing in his shirt before all this rude people. At last, they having got a ladder, bound him thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray, one struck him upon the face with his fist, saying, Thou shalt first be burned, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt. Then another, treading upon his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him; for they saw that for all his sore wounds he did not die.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright; then one running unto him, set his halbert for the ladder to lean against, but the ladder slipping away from the point of the halbert, the halbert ran through his body. Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon the wood, which tumbling down, fell upon one side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and struck him with a mace upon the breast, till he was dead. Afterward they roasted him upon the coals; for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom, in the year 1524.

About the same time many other godly persons, for the testimony of the gospel, were thrown into the Rhine and other rivers, where their bodies afterward were found, and taken up. Also in the said town of Diethmar another faithful saint of God, named *John*, suffered the like martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up of God, in testimony of his truth, sealed it with their blood.

At the town of Hala likewise, another preacher, named *M. George*, for ministering in both kinds, was martyred by cut-throats, set on by the monks and friars to murder him, near to the town called Haschemburg.

At Prague also, in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, suffered in the like manner.

Furthermore, in the same year 1524, on the 22d of October, the town of Miltenberg, in Germany, was taken and ransacked, and divers of the inhabitants were slain, and many imprisoned, for maintaining and keeping with them Carolostadius to be their preacher.

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs likewise is to be placed *Gasper Tamber*. Also another, called *Georgius*, a scrivener, which both were burned at Vienna, in Austria.

In the year 1525, *John Castellane*, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after he was called to the knowledge of God, and became a preacher of his word in the town of Metz, returning

from thence was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants; by whom he was carried from Gorze to the castle of Nommenie; whereupon the citizens of Metz, being grievously offended to have their preacher so apprehended and imprisoned, within a short space after, took certain of the cardinal's subjects, and kept them prisoners, until the abbot of St. Anthonies in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, being furnished with an officer and commission from the see of Rome, came to Metz; and, after divers declarations made to the provost, and to the other justices and counsellors of the city, he so prevailed, that the said subjects of the cardinal were set at liberty; but John Castellane was kept still a prisoner in the castle of Nommenie, and was most cruelly handled from the 4th day of May until the 12th day of January; during all which he persevered in the doctrine of the Son of God. Whereupon he was carried from Nommenie to the castle of Vike, always persevering in the profession of the same doctrine; so that they did proceed unto the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular power, according to custom.

The sentence being ended, with their Catholic sermon also, the bishop of Nicopolis, sitting in his pontificalibus in the judgment seat, being suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading, as they call it, of the said Mr. John Castellane. Thus being prepared for his degradation, he was brought forth of the chapel by the priests, with all his priestly ornaments upon him, and holding his hands together, he kneeled down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hands, with wine and water, the patin, and the host; all which things the bishop who degraded him, took from him, saying, We take away from thee all power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to say mass, as well for the quick as the dead.

Moreover, the bishop scraped the nails of both his hands with a piece of glass, saying, By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of thy hands. Then he took away from him the chesil, saying, By good right we do despoil thee of this priestly ornament, which signifieth charity; for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all innocency. Then, taking away the stole, he said, Thou hast villainously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this stole: wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood. The degradation of the order of priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon; then the ministers gave him the

book of the Gospels, which the bishop took away, saying, We take away from thee all power to read the gospels in the church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy. After this he spoiled him of the dalmatike, (which is the vesture that the deacons use) saying, We deprive thee of this Levitical order, forsomuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministry and office. After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, We justly take away from thee the white stole which thou hadst received undefiledly, which also thou oughtest to have borne in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the people dedicated unto the name of Christ may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the office of deaconship. Then they proceeded to the degrading of subdeaconship, and taking away from him the book of the epistles and the subdeacon's vesture, deposed him from reading of the epistles in the church of God: and so orderly proceeding unto all his other orders, degraded him from the order of benet and collet, from the order of exorcist, from the lectureship, and, last of all, from the office of door-keeper, taking from him the keys, and commanding him hereafter not to open or shut the vestry, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving; and taking away his surplice, said unto him, By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we take away from thee all clerkly habit, and despoil thee of all ornament of religion: also we do depose and degrade thee of all order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy; and, as one unworthy of that profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular power.

Then the bishop took the shears, and began to clip his head, saying in this manner, We cast thee out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the crown which is the royal sign of priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice. The bishop also added these words, That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work, wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the church of God.

The degrading thus ended, the procurator fiscal of the court of the city of Metz required of the notary a copy of the degrading: then the ministers of the bishop turned him out of his clerkly habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, the bishop that degraded him said in this manner, We pronounce that the secular court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerkly honour and privilege.

This done, the bishop after a certain manner entreated the secular judge for him, saying, My Lord Judge, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not, in any point, do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body. (But this is a constant form, though they determined that the man shall be burnt.)

These things thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vike, confirming the aforesaid sentence, condemned Mr. John Castellane to be burned alive; which death he suffered the 12th of January, 1525, with such constancy and fortitude, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the truth, but also a great number which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by his death.

The 8th of February, 1527, there happened a rare spectacle in the town of Munchen, in Bavaria. A man, named *George Carpenter*, of Emering, was there burnt. When he was out of the prison called Falcon-Tower, and led before the council, divers friars and monks followed him to instruct and teach him, whom he desired to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the council, his offences were contained in four articles.

First, That he did not believe that a priest could forgive a man's sins.

Secondly, That he did not believe that a man could call God out of heaven.

Thirdly, That he did not believe that God was in the bread which the priest hangeth over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

Fourthly, That he did not believe that that very element of the water itself in baptism doth give grace.

Which four articles he utterly refused to recant. Then came to him a schoolmaster of Munchen, in Bavaria, saying unto him, My friend George, dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldest thou return to thy wife and children? He answered, If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my wife and well-beloved children? Then said the schoolmaster, Revoke your former opinion, and you shall be set at liberty. To which George answered, My wife and my children are so dearly beloved by me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria; but for the love of my Lord God I will willingly forsake them.

When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spake to him again in the market-place, saying, Good George,

believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign. He answered, I believe this sacrament to be a sign of the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us. Then said the schoolmaster, What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem baptism, knowing that Christ suffered himself to be baptized in Jordan? Whereunto he answered, and shewed what was the true use of baptism, and what was the end why Christ was baptized in Jordan, and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross. The same Christ will I confess this day before the whole world; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe.

After this came to him one Conrade Scheter, the vicar of the cathedral church in Munchen, saying, George, if thou wilt not believe the sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true: but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent. George answered, God suffer me not to err, I beseech him. Then said the schoolmaster, Do not put the matter in that hazard, but choose some good christian brother, master Conrade, or some other, to whom thou mayest reveal thy heart; not to confess thyself, but to take some godly counsel of him. But he answered, Nay, not so, for it would be too long. Then Conrade began the Lord's prayer: *Our Father, which art in heaven:* Carpenter answered, Truly thou art our Father, and no other; this day I trust to be with thee. Then Conrade went forward with the prayer, saying, *Hallowed be thy name:* Carpenter answered, O my God, how little is thy name hallowed in this world! Conrade, *Thy kingdom come:* Carpenter answered, Let thy kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy kingdom. Conrade, *Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven:* Carpenter answered, For this cause, O Father, am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled, and not mine. Conrade, *Give us this day our daily bread:* Carpenter answered, The only living bread, Jesus Christ, shall be my food. Conrade, *And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us:* Carpenter answered, With a willing mind do I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries. Conrade, *And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil:* whereunto Carpenter answered, O my Lord, without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my hope.

When the hangman bound him to the ladder, he preached to the people. Then he was desired by certain Christian brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token what his faith or belief was. To whom he answered, This shall be my sign or token: that so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus.

His face and countenance never changed colour, but cheer-

fully he went into the fire. In the midst, said he, of the town, this day will I confess my God before the whole world.

When he was laid upon the ladder, and the hangman put a bag of gunpowder about his neck, he said, Let it be so, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And when the two hangmen lifted him upon the ladder, smiling, he bade a Christian farewell. That done, the hangman thrust him into the fire. He, with a loud voice, cried out, "Jesus! Jesus!" Then the hangman turned him over; and he again, for a certain space, cried, "Jesus! Jesus!" and so joyfully yielded up his spirit.

We must not pass over the constancy of Mr. *Leonard Keyser*, of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel. He was of the town of Rawbe, four miles from Passau, of a famous family. Being at his study in Wittenberg, he was sent for by his brethren, who certified him, that if ever he would see his father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither, when, by the commandment of the bishop of Passau, he was taken by his mother and his brethren. The articles which he was accused of, for which also he was most cruelly put to death, were these:

That faith only justifieth—that works are the fruits of faith—that the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.

Item, For confession, satisfaction, the vow of chastity, purgatory, difference of days, for affirming only two sacraments, and invocation of saints.

He also maintained three kinds of confession: The first to be of faith, which is always necessary;—the second of charity, which serveth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as in Matt. xviii.—the third, which is not to be despised, is to ask counsel of the ancient ministers of the church.

And notwithstanding all this was contrary to the bull of pope Leo, and the emperor's decree made at Worms, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded and put into the hands of the secular power. The persecutors which sat in judgment upon him, were, the bishop of Passau, the suffragans of Ratisbon and of Passau, also Dr. Eckius. His friends made great intercession to have his judgment deferred, that the matter might be more exactly known; also the duke of Saxony, and the earls of Schauzenburgh and of Shunartzen, wrote to the bishop for him, but could not prevail.

After the sentence, he was carried by a company of harnessed men out of the city to Schardingham, the 13th of August; where Christopher Frenckinger, the civil judge, receiving him, had letters sent him from duke William of Bavaria, that, tarrying

for no other judgment, he should be burned alive. As he was led out of the town to the place where he was to suffer, he boldly spake in the German tongue, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, O Lord Jesus, remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me power.

Then the wood was made ready, and he began to cry with a loud voice, O Jesus, I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me; and he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head: and because the fire was not great enough, the hangman plucked the body, half burnt, with a long hook, from underneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire; and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good man, who suffered for the testimony of the truth, August 16, in the year of our Lord 1526.

Account of the Persecutions in the Netherlands.

A pious protestant widow, named *Wendelinuta*, was apprehended on account of her religion, when several monks unsuccessfully endeavoured to persuade her to recant. Their attempts, however, proving ineffectual, a Roman Catholic lady of her acquaintance desired to be admitted to the dungeon in which she was confined, she did her utmost to perform the task she had undertaken; but, finding her endeavours fruitless, she said, "Dear Wendelinuta, if you will not embrace our faith, at least keep the things which you profess secret within your own bosom, and strive to prolong your life." To which the widow replied, "Madam, you know not what you say; for with the heart we believe to righteousness, but with the tongue confession is made unto salvation." Still holding her faith against every effort of the powers of darkness, her goods were confiscated, and she was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution, a monk presented a cross to her, and bade her kiss and worship God. To which she answered, "I worship no wooden god, but the eternal God, who is in heaven." She was then executed, but, at the intercession of the before-mentioned lady, it was granted, that she should be strangled before the faggots were kindled.

At Colen, there were two protestant clergymen burnt; a tradesman of Antwerp, named *Nicholas*, was tied up in a sack, thrown into the river, and drowned; and *Pistorius*, an accomplished scholar and student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village in a fool's coat, and burnt.

A minister of the reformed church was ordered to attend the execution of sixteen protestants, who received sentence to be beheaded. This gentleman performed the important office with great propriety, exhorted them to repentance, and gave them comfort in the mercies of their Redeemer. As soon as the sixteen were beheaded, the magistrate cried out to the executioner, "There is another remaining stroke yet; you must behead the minister: he can never die at a better time than with such excellent precepts in his mouth, and such laudable examples before him." He was accordingly beheaded, though even many of the Roman Catholics themselves reprobated this piece of treacherous and unnecessary barbarity.

George Scherter, a minister at Saltzburg, was apprehended and committed to prison for instructing his flock in the truth of the gospel. While in confinement he wrote a confession of his faith; soon after which he was condemned, first to be beheaded, and afterwards to be burnt to ashes, which sentence was accordingly put into execution.

Percival, a learned man of Louviana, was murdered in prison; and *Justus Insparg* was beheaded for having Luther's sermons in his possession.

A cutler of Brussels, *Giles Telleman*, was a man of singular humanity and piety. Among others he was apprehended as a protestant, and many vain attempts were made by the monks to persuade him to recant. Once a fair opportunity of escaping from prison offered itself to him, but of which he did not avail himself. Being asked the reason, he replied, "I would not do the keepers so much injury, as they must have answered for my absence had I got away." When he was sentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for granting him an opportunity, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Observing at the place of execution, a great quantity of faggots, he desired the principal part of them might be given to the poor, saying, "A small quantity will suffice to consume me." The executioner offered to strangle him before the fire was lighted, but he would not consent, telling him, that he defied the flames; and, indeed, he gave up the ghost with such composure amidst them, that he hardly seemed sensible of pain.

In Flanders, about the years 1543 and 1544, the persecution raged with great violence. Many were doomed to perpetual imprisonment, others to perpetual banishment: but most were put to death either by hanging, drowning, burning, the rack, or burying alive.

John de Boscane, a zealous protestant, was apprehended in the city of Antwerp on account of his faith. On his trial he undauntedly professed himself to be of the reformed religion, on

which he was immediately condemned. The magistrate, however, was afraid to execute the sentence publickly, as he was popular through his great generosity, and almost universally revered for his inoffensive life, and exemplary piety. A private execution was, therefore, determined on, for which an order was given to drown him in prison. The executioner, accordingly, forced him into a large tub; but Boscane, stauggling, and getting his head above the water, the executioner stabbed him in several places with a dagger till he expired.

Struggling

John de Boisons, on account of his religion, was about the same time, secretly apprehended. In this city the number of protestants being great, and the prisoner much respected, the magistrates, fearful of an insurrection, ordered him to be beheaded in prison.

In the year 1568 were apprehended at Antwerp, *Scoblant*, *Hues*, and *Coomans*. While under confinement they behaved with great fortitude. In an epistle to some protestant brethren, they express themselves in the following words: "Since it is the will of the Almighty that we should suffer for his name, and be persecuted for the sake of his gospel, we patiently submit, and are joyful upon the occasion: though the flesh may rebel against the spirit, and hearken to the counsel of the old serpent, yet the truths of the gospel shall prevent such advice from being taken, and Christ shall bruise the serpent's head. We are not comfortless in confinement, for we have faith; we fear not affliction, for we have hope; and we forgive our enemies, for we have charity. Be not alarmed for us, we are happy through the promises of God, glory in our bonds, and exult in being thought worthy to suffer for the sake of Christ. We desire not to be released, but to be blessed with fortitude; we ask not liberty, but the power of perseverance; and wish for no change in our condition, but that which places a crown of martyrdom upon our heads."

The first who was brought to trial was Scoblant, who, persisting in his faith, received sentence of death. On his return to prison, he requested the jailer not to permit any friar to come near him; saying, "They can do me no good, but may greatly disturb me. I hope my salvation is already sealed in heaven, and that the blood of Christ, in which I firmly put my trust, hath washed me from my iniquities. I am now going to throw off this mantle of clay, to be clad in robes of eternal glory. I hope I may be the last martyr of papal tyranny, and that the blood already spilt will be found sufficient to quench its thirst of cruelty; that the church of Christ may have rest here, as his servants will hereafter." On the day of execution he took a pathetic leave of his fellow-prisoners. At the stake he uttered with great

fervency the Lord's prayer, and sung the fortieth psalm: then, commending his soul to God, the flames soon terminated his mortal existence.

A short time after, Hues died in prison; upon which occasion Coomans thus vents his mind to his friends: "I am now deprived of my friends and companions; Scoblant is martyred, and Hues dead, by the visitation of the Lord; yet I am not alone: I have with me the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; he is my comfort, and shall be my reward." When brought to trial, Coomans freely confessed himself of the reformed religion, and answered with a manly firmness to every charge brought against him, proving his doctrine from the gospel. "But," said the judge, "will you die for the faith you profess?" "I am not only willing to die," replied Coomans, "but also to suffer the utmost stretch of inventive cruelty for it: after which my soul shall receive its reward from God himself, in the midst of eternal glory." Being condemned, he went cheerfully to the place of execution, and died with christian fortitude and resignation.

Baltazar Gerard, a native of Franche Comtè, a bigotted and furious Roman Catholic, thinking to advance his fortune and his cause by one desperate act, resolved upon the assassination of the prince of Orange. Having provided himself with fire-arms, he watched the prince as he passed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a passport. The princess of Orange, observing in his tone of voice and manner something confused and singular, asked who he was, saying, she did not like his countenance. The prince answered, it was one that demanded a passport, which he should have presently. Nothing farther transpired till after dinner, when, on the return of the prince and princess through the same hall, the assassin, from behind one of the pillars, fired at the prince; the balls entering at the left side, and passing through the right, wounded in their passage the stomach and and vital parts. The prince had only power to say, "Lord, have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people," and immediately expired.

The death of this virtuous prince, who was considered as the father of his people, spread universal sorrow throughout the United Provinces. The assassin was immediately taken, and received sentence to be put to death in the most exemplary manner: yet such was his enthusiasm and blindness for his crime, that while suffering for it, he coolly said, "Were I at liberty I would repeat the same."

The funeral of the prince of Orange was the grandest ever seen in the Low Countries; and the sorrow for his death perhaps the most sincere that ever attended a royal corpse to the tomb.

In different parts of Flanders, numbers fell victims to popish jealousy and cruelty. In the city of Valence, in particular, fifty-seven principal inhabitants were butchered in one day, for refusing to embrace the Romish superstition; beside whom, great numbers suffered in confinement, till they perished through the hardships of their prison.

AN EXTRACT FROM AN ACCOUNT OF THE TORMENTS WHICH THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS ENDURED ABOARD THE GALLIES,

On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz.

BY JOHN BION,

Some time Priest of the Parish of Ursy in Burgundy, and Chaplain to a Galley in the French Service.

THE HISTORY abounds with instances of the effects of the spirit of persecution, and shews how boundless is its fury; but the sad effects it hath produced in France, are scarcely to be paralleled in any age or nation. All the world knows the Protestants there lived under the protection of the Edict of Nantz, a treaty as full and solemn as any that ever was made. It was at first religiously observed, but at last, at the continual solicitation of the Jesuits, it was perfidiously broken.

I shall endeavour to satisfy the curiosity of those who desire to be informed of the treatment of the Protestants in the Gallies: and to convince such of their error as are loth to harbour any hard thoughts of the French court, and justify its proceedings by pretending, that what they suffer is not on account of religion, but is a just punishment for rebellion and disobedience.

But, before I proceed to shew the sufferings and misery which persons in the gallies labour under, I shall give a short description of a galley.

A galley is a long flat one-decked vessel with oars; and though it hath two masts, yet it is built so as not to be able to endure a rough sea, and therefore the sails for the most part are useless. There are five slaves to every oar, one of them a Turk, who is set at the upper end of the oar, to work it with more strength; there are in all three hundred slaves, and a hundred and fifty men, either officers, soldiers, seamen, or servants.

There is at the stern of the galley, a chamber, shaped on the outside like a cradle, belonging to the captain, and solely his at night, but in the day time common to the officers, and chaplain; all the rest of the crew (the under officers excepted, who retire to other convenient places) are exposed above deck to the scorching heat of the sun by day, and the damps and inclemencies of the night. There is indeed a kind of tent suspended by a cable, from head to stern, that affords some little shelter; but the misfortune is, this is only in fair weather; for in the least wind, or storm, it is taken down, the galley not being able to endure it for fear of oversetting. In the two winters in 1703, 1704, on the coasts of Monaco, Nice, and Antibes, those poor creatures after hard rowing, could not enjoy the usual benefit of the night, which puts an end to the labours of the day, but were exposed to the wind, snow, and all other inconveniences of that season. The only comfort they wished for was the liberty of smoking; but that, on pain of the bastinado, was prohibited.

When we consider that the vessel being but small for the number of men, consequently crowded, the continual sweat that streams down from their bodies, whilst rowing, and the scanty allowance of linen, one may easily imagine that this breeds abundance of vermin; so that in spite of all the care that can be taken, the gallies swarm with lice, &c.

The whole yearly allowance of the slaves for clothes, is two shirts made of the coarsest canvass, and a little jerkin of red serge, and every three years a kind of a coarse frock, and a little cap to cover their heads, which they are obliged to keep close shaved as a mark of infamy. Instead of a bed, they are allowed, sick or well, only a board a foot and a half broad; and those who have the unfortunate honour of lying near the officers, dare not presume (though tormented with vermin) to stir so much as a hand for their ease; for fear their chains should rattle, and awake any of them, which would draw on them a punishment more severe than the biting of those insects. It is hard to give an exact description of the labours that slaves undergo at sea, especially during a long campaign. The fatigue of tugging at the oar is extraordinary; they must rise to draw their stroke, and fall back again; insomuch that in all seasons, through the continual and violent motion of their bodies, the sweat trickles down their harassed limbs: and for fear they should fail, as they often do through faintness, there is a gangboard which runs through the middle of the ship, on which are posted three comites, (officers somewhat like a boatswain in his Majesty's ships,) who, whenever they think that an oar does not keep touch with the rest, without ever examining whether it proceeds from weakness or slaziness, they unmercifully exercise a tough wand on the man

they suspect; which being long, is often felt by two or three of his innocent neighbours, who being naked when they row, each blow imprints evident marks of the inhumanity of the executioner; and they are not allowed the least sign of discontent, but must, on the contrary, exert the little vigour that remains, and try by their submission to pacify the rage of those relentless tigers, whose strokes are commonly ushered in, and followed by a volley of horrid imprecations.

No sooner are they arrived in any port, but their work is increased, several laborious things, previous to casting anchor, being expected from them, which in a galley is harder than in a ship. And as the comite's chief skill is seen in dexterously casting anchor, and as he thinks blows are the life and soul of all work, nothing is heard for some time but cries and lamentations; and as the poor slaves are busy in the execution of his commands, his arms are as briskly exercised in lashing them.

To support their strength under all those hardships, during the campaign, every morning at eight o'clock, each man has his proportion of biscuit, of which indeed they have enough, and pretty good; at ten a porringer of soup, made with oil, pease, or beans, often rotten, and commonly musty. I call it soup, according to their use, though it be nothing but a little hot water, with about a dozen pease or beans floating on the top; and when on duty, a pichione of wine (a measure containing about two-thirds of an English pint) morning and evening. When at anchor in any port, all who have any money are allowed to buy meat; and the Turk that commands the oar, and is not chained, is commonly the person employed for this purpose, as also to see it dressed in the cook room.

When the badness of the weather hinders the gallies from putting to sea, such slaves as have trades, work in the galley; such as have none, learn to knit coarse stockings; the comite, for whose profit they work, gives them yarn, and pays them about half the usual price; and this not in money, but in some little victuals, or wine. The poor souls that have no trade, clean their comrades' clothes, and destroy the vermin that torment their neighbours; who in return give them some small share of that scanty pittance they purchase by working.

One may imagine that such ill-treatment must needs occasion frequent sickness: in that case, their usage is thus: there is in the hold a close, dark room, the air being admitted only by the scuttle, about two feet square, which is the only passage into it. At each end of the room there is a sort of a scaffold called taular, on which the sick are laid promiscuously without beds, or any thing under them; when this is full, if there be any more, they are stretched all along the cables, as I saw in the year 1703,

when, being on the coast of Italy, in winter time, we had above threescore sick men; in this horrid place, all kind of vermin rule with arbitrary sway, gnawing the poor sick creatures without disturbance. When the duties of my function called me in among them, I was in an instant covered all over with vermin, it being impossible to preserve one's-self from their swarms.

I was obliged, notwithstanding, to make considerable stays in this gloomy mansion, to confess such as were ready to expire, and the whole space between the ceiling and the taular being but three feet, I was obliged to lie down, and stretch myself along their sides, to hear their confessions; and often, while I was confessing one, another expired just by my side. Though this relation may fall into the hands of some nice persons, yet I cannot omit one aggravating circumstance; which is, that they are deprived of all convenience of doing the necessities of nature, except a little pail always so nasty, that they are but little better for it, and are besides so weak, that they are not able to go to it; the stench consequently is most intolerable, insomuch that no slave, though ever so weak, but will rather choose to tug at his oar, and expire under his chain, than retire to this loathsome hospital.

There are in a galley several sorts of people, under the notion of slaves, besides seamen and soldiers, viz. Turks, criminals, and protestants. The king buys the Turks to manage the stroke of the oars. They are generally strong men, and the least unfortunate of the whole crew; not being chained; but they wear a ring on their foot as a badge of slavery. When they arrive at any port they have liberty to trade, and some of them are worth three or four hundred pounds; they frequently send their money to their wives and families, and, to the shame of Christians be it spoken, there is a great deal more charity among them than is to be found among us.

The Protestants now in the gallies have been condemned thither at several times. The first were put in after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz: the term fixed for the choice of either their abjuring their religion, or leaving the kingdom, was a fortnight, and that upon pain of being condemned to the gallies; but this liberty, by many base artifices, was rendered useless, for there were often secret orders by the contrivance of the clergy, to prevent their embarking, and hinder the selling of their substance; their debtors were absolved by their confessors, when they denied a debt; and children were forced from their fathers' and mothers' arms, in hopes that the tenderness of the parent might prevail over the zeal of the Christian.

Protestants of all sexes, ages, and conditions, used to flee through deserts and wild impracticable ways; committing their

lives to the mercy of the seas, and running innumerable hazards, to avoid idolatry or martyrdom. Some escaped very happily, in spite of the vigilance of the dragoons and bailiffs, but many fell into their hands; whereby the prisons were filled with Protestants. But the saddest spectacle of all, was to see two hundred men at a time chained together, going to the gallies, and above one hundred of that number Protestants: and what was barbarous to the last degree was, that they were obliged, when there, on pain of the bastinado, to bow before the host, and to hear mass.

Mons. Sabatier, whose charity and zeal equal that of the primitive Christians, having a little money, distributed it to his brethren and fellow-sufferers in the gallies; but the Protestants being watched more narrowly than the rest, he could not do it so secretly, but he was discovered and brought before Mons. de Monmort, intendant of the gallies at Marseilles. Being asked, he did not deny the fact; Mons. Monmort not only promised him his pardon, but a reward, if he would declare who it was that had given him that money. Mons. Sabatier modestly answered, that he should be guilty of ingratitude before God and man, if he should bring them into trouble who had been so charitable to him; that his person was at his disposal, but he desired to be excused as to the secret expected from him. The intendant replied, he had a way to make him tell, and that immediately; whereupon he sent for some Turks, who, at his command, stripped Sabatier stark naked, and beat him with ropes' ends and cudgels during three days, at several times; and seeing this did not prevail, he himself turned executioner, striking him with his cane, and telling the bystanders, "see what a devil of a religion this is." At last, seeing he was ready to expire, he commanded him into a dungeon.

In the year 1703, several Protestants out of Languedoc and the Cevennes, were put on board our galley, they were narrowly watched, and I was mightily surprised on Sunday morning, after saying mass on the bancasse, (a table so placed, that all the galley may see the priest when he elevates the host) to hear the comite say, he was going to give the Huguenots the bastinado, because they did not kneel, nor shew any respect to the mysteries of the mass. The very name of bastinado terrified me, and I begged the comite to forbear till the next Sunday; that in the mean time I would endeavour to convince them of what I then thought their duty and my own. Accordingly I used all the means I could possibly think of to that effect, sometimes making use of fair means, giving them victuals, and doing them other good offices; sometimes using threats, and representing the torments that were designed them, and often urging the king's command, and quoting

the passage of St. Paul, that "he who resists the higher power, resists God." I had not at that time any design to oblige them to do any thing against their consciences; but what I did chiefly proceeded from a motive of pity and tenderness. I could not but admire at once both the modesty of their answers, and greatness of their courage; "The king," say they, "is indeed master of our bodies, but not of our consciences." But at last the dreadful day being come, the comite narrowly observed them, to see the fruit of my labours. There were only two out of twenty that bowed their knee to Baal, the rest generously refused it, and were accordingly, by the captain's command, served in the manner following:

In order to punishment, every man's chains are taken off, and he is stripped stark naked, and stretched upon the coursier, (the great gun,) and there so held that he cannot so much as stir, during which time there is a horrid silence throughout the whole galley. The victim thus prepared, the Turk pitched upon to be the executioner, with a tough cudgel, or knotty rope's end, unmercifully beats the poor wretch, and that too the more willingly because he thinks that it is acceptable to his prophet Mahomet. But the most barbarous of all is, that after the skin is flead off the bones of the sufferers, the only balsam applied to their wounds is a mixture of vinegar and salt; after which they are thrown into the hospital already described. I went thither after the execution, and could not refrain from tears, at the sight of so much barbarity. They quickly perceived it, and though scarcely able to speak, through pain and weakness, they thanked me for the compassion I expressed, and the kindness I had always shewn them. I went with a design to administer some comfort, but I was glad to find them less moved than I was myself. It was wonderful to see with what true christian patience they bore their torments; in the extremity of their pain never expressing any thing like rage, but calling upon Almighty God, imploring his assistance.

Monsieur Louis de Marolles was born about the year 1629, as appears by one of his letters a little before his death, which happened in the year 1692, saying, "that he had almost accomplished 63 years." He was born at Champagne, of an ancient family, very noted for their skill in the law. He dwelt at St. Menehoult, where he exercised the office of the king's counsellor, and receiver of consignments, his religion making him incapable of any other post.

In order to comprehend the reason which drew Mons. de Marolles into Germany, you must know that some Protestants going from Champagne to Lorraine, bordering upon the Duchy of Deux Ponts, the inhabitants of the county of Sarbruck and Al-

satia, had been prevailed upon by Mons. the intendant of Goupellier, to settle themselves in that country, assuring them, with an oath, that no person should be molested or disturbed, and that the exercise of religion, which was established at Lixim and Bourbac, should be preserved, because the king had a mind to populate and re-establish that desolate and ruined country.

All the promises and assurances of Mons. de la Goupellier were but slender securities, as had been foreseen; and a few days after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, some archers were sent to compel those who had been solicited and invited to settle themselves in those quarters, to abandon them and return home.

Our martyr, with Madam Mary Gommeret his wife, had settled at Lixim. He had four children; two daughters are with their mother in a society of ladies of quality at Harlem. The two sons are in the service; the eldest, who had his leg broke at the battle of Landen, is an officer in the Earl of Albemarle's regiment, and the youngest, ensign of the regiment of M. de St. Amand. They were very young when their father endeavoured to go out of France, since he saw he could no longer stay there with liberty of conscience. But God, who called him to glorify his name, and to carry along with his chains the good odour of the Reformation even into the Prætorium, suffered him to be stopped with his whole family, on Sunday the 2d day of December, in the year 1685, upon the territories of France, two leagues on this side the Rhine, by one M. Bourbon and aid-major of Strasbourg, accompanied with two cavaliers. They were all of them conveyed to one of the prisons of the city, and put into a square tower which stands in the middle of the river.

The 17th of January, 1686, he was removed from Strasbourg to Chalons with his family, where he arrived on Monday the 28th of January. They carried them in a waggon, attended by Mons. Bourbon the aid-major, who had stopped them, together with an officer and five troopers. He was put into the prison of the city of Chalons, where he observes, he continued just six weeks.

He was immediately visited by the Bishop of Chalons, who is now Archbishop of Paris. We must do him justice, and say, that the zeal which he hath for his religion, is as conformable to his character, as the persecuting spirit of several other bishops is far from it. He wrote to Mons. de Chamilly, in favour of M. de Marolles, as soon as he knew of his confinement at Strasbourg; and in the visit which he made him at Chalons, he told him that, if he could, he would conceal him under his robe.

During the four first weeks that our martyr continued at Chalons, he had liberty enough. The ecclesiastics who believed themselves able to cope with him, at first were eager to signalize themselves; but when they found his constancy to be invincible,

they locked him up in a dungeon, without suffering him to see any person for the space of 15 days. After which he was brought to judgment the 9th of March, and the sentence pronounced against him by torch light. Here follows his sentence.

"We adjudge that the said de Marolles is declared, proved, and convicted of having been apprehended, endeavouring to go out of the kingdom with his family, contrary to his Majesty's edicts, and declarations; for reparation whereof we have condemned, and do condemn the said de Marolles, prisoner, to serve the king *for ever as a slave on board the gallies*, and his personal goods and chatels forfeited to the king, by this our sentence, judgment, and decree. Done in the council chamber, or open court, the 9th of March, 1680."

This 9th of March, when sentence was pronounced against Mons. de Marolles, was on a Saturday; and the Monday following, they took him out of the dungeon, to convey him in a waggon to Paris, attended by three archers from Chalons. The youngest of M. de Marolles's sons, presented himself upon the way without the city, to accompany his father; the archers suffered him to ride in the waggon with him, and treated the prisoner with as much civility as could be expected from such persons. They had a certain respect for him, which virtue begets in the hearts of the most barbarous; they told him that they did not fear he would make his escape out of their hands, and did not mind to guard him with that severity and exactness which they generally use towards galley-slaves.

He arrived at the Conciergery upon Thursday the 14th of March, 1686. His son went with him into the chamber, where they put the prisoners that came from all parts, till such times as they have informed themselves of the nature of their condemnation. The night approaching, he asked if he might return the next day to see his father, they told him he might. But coming thither the next morning, he was told that he might see him no more; and I find a letter of his hand, wherein he hath written as follows: "I was put into a dark dungeon, where I have been these two months without seeing any body. On Saturday the 11th of May, 1686, I was brought before my judges at the court, where criminal causes are tried, and contrary to what is usual, my judgment was deferred till Tuesday the 14th of the same; and my condemnation of Chalons was confirmed the same day. About two o'clock in the afternoon they put the irons upon my hands, put me into a coach, and I was carried to La Tournelle, where I entered, making the 26th galerian." La Tournelle was a palace in Henry II.'s time, but now they send the persons thither who are condemned to the gallies, until the departure of the chain.

Let us hear the following part of his letter: "The governor of Tournelle knowing who I was, and being informed of my crime, caused me to be treated with as much gentleness as can be expected in that place. They were contented to put a fetter upon one foot. But the next morning he came to tell me that he had just received orders which very much afflicted him, which was, that the king had commanded that the chain should be put upon my neck. I thanked him for his goodness which he expressed to me; and told him that I was ready to pay a respectful obedience to the orders of his Majesty. I laid aside my hat, they took the chain from off my foot, and put me on another about my neck, which doth not, I believe, weigh less than thirty pounds. Thus you see, my dear sister, the condition which the wise Providence of God hath chosen for me, out of a thousand others in which he might have placed me. I expect from his mercy, strength, and constancy, to suffer all for his glory. Do not afflict yourself at my condition, my dear sister, it is more happy than you imagine. Weep not for me. Grant me the assistance of your prayers; I assure you that I do not forget you in mine." And in another letter of the 16th of May, i. e. the day when the chain was put about his neck, he says after such another relation as that before mentioned, "Thus you have an abridgement of my misery, and, to speak more truly, of my glory, for I continually give thanks to God for the honour which he doth me, in not thinking me unworthy to suffer for his name-sake. Let your prayers accompany mine, to obtain from the mercy of God his assistance, so long as it shall please him to continue my sufferings and afflictions."

M. Marolles wrote several letters from La Tournelle to his wife, children, and friends. He sent one to M. Jurieu, in which he tells him, "The manner of my suffering, and the good eye with which God makes me regard all my sufferings, persuades me that he will give me the grace to continue faithful unto him even unto death. I make all my glory and happiness to consist in this, that my Redeemer doth not count me unworthy to suffer for his name's sake. I fix my confidence upon the eternal Rock. I put all my trust in him. I expect help and succour from him alone. I persuade myself that nothing shall be able to move me, fixed upon so solid a foundation. I have more liberty since these ten or twelve days: for when it is fine weather, they suffer the chain to go out and abide in a court all day, except it be six of us who are kept locked up. I spend one part of this time in reading, meditation, and prayer, and I do likewise take the liberty to sing some psalms, as I have done in all the places of my imprisonment without ever being complained of for it. Thus

you see in two words an abridgment of our misery. We lie fifty-three of us in a place, which is not above thirty feet in length, and nine in breadth. There lies on one side of me a sick peasant with his head to my feet. There are likewise others. There is scarcely one among us who doth not envy the condition of several dogs and horses. This makes us all desire that the chain may quickly depart. They conceal this from us, but, as far as we can judge, it will depart next Saturday. We were yesterday ninety-five condemned persons in number, but two of them died that day, and one to-day. We have still fifteen or sixteen sick, and there are but few who escape it. I have had five fits of the tertian fever; but I thank God I am very well recovered of it, and in a disposition to make the journey to Marseilles. We shall take in some of our brethren at Burgogne, who are condemned to the chain for the same cause for which I am, who have the honour to be the first condemned by the parliament of Paris."

His wife, under the greatest affliction that can be imagined, visited him as often as she could, and put her hands through the grate, to wash the wounds which the chain had made upon him, with water in which musket balls had been steeped. She heard one day that the clergy had spread a report in Paris, that he was beside himself. This infamous fraud was contrived to allay the wonder and admiration which the constancy of our martyrs raised in all that great city.

At length the chain departed from Paris, on Saturday the 20th of July. Monsieur de Marolles had then the fever. He had dreaded the sorrowful separation from his wife; and his wife, cast down, and sick with affliction, could not be present at this sorrowful departure, They had not above the breadth of a key to cross to enter into the boat. The galerians go two by two, carrying a long chain, which passes through their particular chains in rings; our martyr was permitted by favour to be in the last rank; in those few steps which he had to take, he met his children, who cast themselves upon his neck, and embraced him. It is hard to represent this sorrowful adieu without emotion. One may easily imagine that this famous galerian, who some months since made so much noise in Paris, drew a great concourse of people; every one seemed touched with his misery, and an ancient Roman Catholic merchant, breaking through the throng, came and embraced and encouraged him, offering him his purse. This man hath since given glory to God, and retired with his family to London, there to make profession of the truth.

He wrote from Marseilles, a little while after his arrival, "As I left Paris sick of a fever, it hath accompanied me to this place.

I have undergone incredible fatigue, and have been twice at the point of death; in which condition I lay upon planks, without any straw under me, and my hat for a pillow. When we left the water, it was much worse with us. We were forced to be jumbled fourteen hours a day in a waggon, (for all those roads are very rough and stony) and thrust into dungeons. God having thus proved me, and furnished me with necessary assistance, he hath at length brought me hither pretty free from the fever, but very weak. It is a pitiful sight to see my leanness; and what is terrible at my arrival, for want of examining into my condition, they sent me away into the galley. I was conducted by two of our guards, who supported me, and I was no sooner come thither, but I was chained, as the other galley slaves were. But several officers coming to see our chain, had compassion on me, especially Monsieur P——, from whom I received great favours. They spake to the major, who sent a surgeon to see me, upon whose report I was let loose, and sent to the hospital, where I now am. It is a fine place, admirably well ordered; I live almost wholly at my own charges. We are very well served in it, and, in short, I am very well satisfied with it. I begin to eat, and to recover my strength by degrees; and, with God's assistance, there is hope of my perfect recovery within a short time."

He had been declared invalid when he was in the hospital, and incapable to serve, because of his private infirmities. Nevertheless, a few days after this, they took him out of the hospital, to chain him day and night for the space of three days, upon a form in the galley. In a letter dated from the galley La Fiere, the 26th of November, 1686, "he acquaints his wife with the joy which he had for her voyage of Versailles, that is, her departure out of France, which makes me," saith he, "daily pour out my soul before my God, to thank him for all the mercies and favours, which he has bestowed upon us all." A little lower, after having exhorted her, "to offer up their bodies and souls to God, as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable which is our reasonable service," he says, "this is what I daily study to do. I can truly tell you, that there passes but few nights, but I water my bed with my tears. I do not say this, my dear heart, to afflict thee: I do, on the contrary, imagine, that this news may afford thee matter of joy, and a holy occasion to join with me in blessing God for it. For these tears are not the effects of a worldly sorrow, which bringeth forth nothing but death: but they proceed from the grace of God: some of them from that godly sorrow, which *bringeth forth repentance to salvation*, never to be repented of; others from the joy which I feel, when I consider with admiration, how great the mercies and favours are, which God doth and hath bestowed upon you all, and upon my-

self. I likewise reflect with extreme joy and satisfaction upon the sacrifice which thou hast offered up to God, of the goods which he had given to thee and me. Thou mightest have enjoyed them, if thy heart had been turned and inclined that way. But thou hast made thee a *treasure of them in heaven, where rust and thieves spoil not.* Thou hast esteemed the precious liberty of serving God, of much greater worth than the riches of this world. Thou hast, like Mary, chosen the good part, which shall not be taken from thee. I praise God with all the powers and faculties of my soul, who hath given me a wife truly Christian, who will in my absence do her endeavour to teach our children to be Christians."

The world will, doubtless, be very glad to know the labours of this holy man, upon this last theatre, where he maintained the conflict for the space of six years, against nakedness, hunger, cold, and darkness. He wrote to his wife a letter, dated the 25th of October, 1687. He speaks under the name of a third person, but to my knowledge it is written with his own hand.

"You desire, Madam," saith he, "to hear from your husband. This is what we learn from the report of the city. The 12th of last February he was taken out of the galley, and put into the citadel. He is thrust into a little room, which served for a soldier's lodge. But they have made such an alteration in it, that the most of the light that is there comes in by the chimney. The King allows him five sols a day for his subsistence, he lives upon that; he is committed to the custody of the major, who, the better to secure him, places a sentinal day and night at the outgate of his chamber, and another at the top of his chimney. They say that he is not grieved at it, but doth very patiently suffer his affliction. This is what we learn from the report of the city. Be not afflicted at his condition, he is endued with constancy enough to put him above all. We are all more apt to complain than he, and we have great reason to say with David,

O Lord, how long———
How long, O God of Hosts.

"Farewell, Madam, I recommend both yourself and family to the grace and mercy of the Lord.

"Be pleased to pardon me, if I do not tell you my name. I am no less your servant."

We see the strictness with which they kept him, to hinder him from sending any news to his friends concerning himself. In a letter written with his own hand, to his wife, whom he chides for troubling herself at his condition to that degree, as to impair her health, he says, "It is not above two hours ago, my dear heart, that I received a letter, which gives me more sorrow

than joy. I received it when I was offering up my evening sacrifice to God on the sabbath day. Thou believest that I hide the condition and place in which I am from thee: but I have much more reason to believe that thou dost conceal thine from me: and I know that my judgment is but too true, by what you confess to me of it. That which grieves me is, that you make me an occasion of your indisposition. If it is I that put the sword to your heart, then I do very innocently stab myself. My spirit, my heart is too deeply engaged to thee, not to be sensibly affected with the evil which thou sufferest. Be not disturbed at this new cross which God lays upon me by thy means, do not fear it will prejudice my health, I will bear it with the submission which I owe to my God and Father, full of tenderness and compassion towards me. Imitate me in that, my dear and well-beloved widow, and not in the many failings which you have known in me. Love me always tenderly as thou hast done; but let this love, which I desire of you, be always regulated by divine love, as that which I have for thee is never separated from it. Although I have great reason to bless myself for thee, and although I daily pour out my soul in praises to God, for the singular favour which he hath done me, in joining me to so christian a wife, (for thou hast contributed very much to the moderating of my suffering, by saving thyself and our dear family from the deluge of this age,) yet I always feared that you did not receive with submission enough the affliction, by which it pleases God to prove us. Let us imitate Eli, and say with him in all our sufferings, 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.' What reason have you to fear lest evil should befall me? Dost thou question the Omnipotence of God? Oughtest thou to imagine that God would desert me at last, after several years miraculous preservation of me? 'He (we are told by Jesus Christ) who will save his life shall lose it, but he that will lose it for my sake, shall save it.' Remember, in order to give thee more confidence in the goodness of God, that

The Angels have pitched,——"

After some such like exhortation, he gives her an account of his miseries in these words, "I must at present satisfy thy curiosity. May the Lord, who favours us in so eminent and miraculous a manner, grant, if it be his pleasure, that no inconvenience may happen thereupon. But I desire of thee before hand, that thou wilt not make it a subject of affliction, but that you will take occasion thereby to bless the Lord. The place in which I am, served formerly for a lodging for soldiers; but since that, they have converted it into a dungeon. There doth not so much light come in, as to hinder me, by day, from running myself against the walls. After I had been there three weeks, I

was assaulted with so many inconveniences, that I thought I could not live there four months to an end: and it will be five years the 11th of next February, that God doth preserve me therein. About the 15th of October, in the first year, God, who never sends me evils but for my good, afflicted me with a painful defluxion, which fell to the elbow of my right arm and shoulder. I could not undress myself; I spent the night sometimes upon my bed, sometimes walking backwards and forwards in my usual darkness. I set myself to reflect upon the occasion of my disease, concluded that it proceeded from the cold and moistness of winter, and that to remedy it, I must drink my wine pure and unmixed, which I did for two days following. At length perceiving my pains to increase, I took the contrary course, and drank water: and finding myself well after it, I have ever since continued it. The defluxion which I was just now speaking of, was so bad, that I felt it for near a year. The Lord hath tried me with several other inconveniences, but he hath delivered me out of them all. I forgot to tell thee, my dear, to give thee a complete description of my little sanctuary, that is, *ten of my feet in length, and twelve in breadth.* All my goods is a bed from the hospital. I lie upon one of the hospital quilts, with a straw-bed under it, and, in this respect, I am much better than in the galley. This is the fourth winter which I have spent almost without fire. I have sensibly felt cold, nakedness, and hunger; but all this, I thank God, is passed and gone. I have lived on five sols a day, which is the subsistence which the King hath appointed for me. I was at first fed by an ordinary, who treated me very well for my five sols. But another which succeeded him fed me for the space of five months, and cut me off daily three sols in my food. The major at length undertook to feed me in his turn, which he did at first very well, but at length he left off to do well. He opens my dungeon but once a day, and hath caused my dinner several times to be brought at nine, ten, and eleven o'clock at night, and I did not receive any bread from him once for the space of three days, and, at other times twice in twenty-four hours. Let not so many miseries afflict thee, my dear. Consider, as I have done, that this diet was appointed me by the sovereign Physician of my body and soul, to whom I have resigned myself, and that he would not have appointed it, if he had not judged it necessary. It is by this means, and the sparing manner after which I have lived for all this present year, that God hath preserved me in life and health. Beware, therefore, of falling into regret, whereas you ought to bless God for his merciful conduct towards me. I have just told you that I have suffered nakedness; I have been almost a year

without shirts, my clothes are more torn and ragged than those of the poorest beggars which stand at the church doors. I have gone bare-foot till the 15th of December; I say bare-foot, for I have had stockings which had no feet, and a pair of old shoes unsewed on both sides, and bored through the soles. An intendant who came into this city three years ago, saw me in this magnificent dress, and though he promised me much, yet he left me ten months in this condition, at the end of which God raised me up succour, which there was no room to expect. He put it into the heart of a very charitable and pious person, the Almoner of the citadel, to visit me; this, without doubt, was done with the agreement of the King's lieutenant, who is likewise very charitable. And having seen me in the sorrowful condition in which I was, he went out immediately to fetch me some of his linen, but I hindered him. But at length he did solicit so well for me, that he procured me a whole galley-slave's suit, and obliged the major to buy me a pair of shoes, and a close pair of breeches out of my own money. So that by the care of this good person, I am better clothed than I have ever been in all my captivity. He procured me likewise a most notable advantage, which is, that ever since this year and a half, the King's lieutenant gives me every day a lamp full of oil, which gives me light for six, seven, and eight hours. This gives me an opportunity to read the Holy Scripture more than I did before. They gave me but a little candle for a liard a day. I believe that this is enough to satisfy thy curiosity. I must further add, that I have been, for these five or six months, troubled with an oppression of the lungs, which almost took away my breath. I have likewise been troubled with giddiness, and have fallen down so as to break my head. This giddiness I impute to the want of food. But I am now, by the grace of God, in more perfect health than I have been these forty years. I speak, my dear, sincerely, as in the presence of God. It is two or three months that they give me regularly three little loaves, and often soup, since which time my head is almost settled, and I sleep much better, and my giddiness is almost over. After the comfortable news which I tell you, think no more but to rejoice at it, and to praise God for it, and labour after thy health, which shall always be mine. This I conjure you in the name of God, and let not your suspicions any more trouble the rest and satisfaction, which I find in the possession of my God."

He wrote again to his wife on the 24th of March 1692, and acquaints her with the greatest trouble that had afflicted him during the whole time of his captivity. He begins with his joy that her letter of the 16th of December had been delivered to

him; after which he advertised her that the pleasure of this correspondence might be interrupted, and that she must prepare herself for it. At length he tells her, "The christian manner in which, my dear wife, you received the account of my sufferings, engages me to hide nothing thereof from you. All that you know is but very little in comparison of what I am going to tell you. When I was taken out of the galley and brought hither, I found at first a great deal of pleasure in this change. My ears were no longer offended with the horrid and blasphemous sounds, with which those places continually echoed. I had the liberty to sing, at every turn, the praises of my God. I could prostrate myself before him as often as I pleased. Moreover I was discharged from that uneasy chain, which was infinitely more troublesome to me than that of thirty pounds weight which you saw me carry. But, notwithstanding all these troubles, the Lord, who had a mind to make me experience his succour in a rare and extraordinary manner, suffered me to fall into a terrible trial. The solitude and perpetual darkness in which I spent my days presented my soul with such terrifying ideas, that they made a very fatal impression thereon. It was filled with a million of vain imaginations, which did very often transport it into deliriums and idle fancies, which lasted sometimes for the space of two whole hours. My prayers were no remedy against this evil. God was pleased that it should continue for some months. I was plunged into a profound abyss of affliction. When I considered, together with this sorrowful condition, my little bodily rest, I concluded from thence it was the high road to distraction, and that I should never escape falling into it. I incessantly implored the succours of my God. At length, after many prayers, sighs, and tears, the God of my deliverance heard my petitions, and after so many tempests sent a perfect calm and serenity. He dissipated all those illusions which gave me so much trouble. After having delivered me out of so sore a trial, never have any doubt, my dearest wife, that God will not deliver me out of all others in general. Do not therefore disquiet yourself about me. Hope always in the goodness of God, and your hopes shall not be in vain. I ought not to forget to take notice of a circumstance which tends to the glory of God. The duration of so great a temptation was, in my opinion, the proper time for the old serpent to endeavour to cast me into rebellion and infidelity. But God always kept him in so profound a silence, that he never once offered to infest me with any of his pernicious counsels, and I never felt the least inclination to revolt. Ever since these sorrowful days, God hath always filled my heart with joy. I possess my soul in patience. He makes the days of my affliction speedily to pass away. I have no sooner begun them but I find my-

self at the end of them. With the bread and water of affliction, with which he tries me, he affords me continually most delicious repasts."

This is the last letter of this blessed martyr which hath been put into my hands. We must believe that they doubled the strictness with which they kept him, to deprive him of this consolation. We are likewise informed by the letter of a faithful man, who was on board the gallies, and who hath always run all hazards, to do our martyrs all the services that he could, that the extreme weakness of his body and eyes hindered him from reading and writing, a month or two before his death, which happened on the 17th of June, in the year 1692, and he was buried by Turks in the same place where those infidels were buried.

There is an extract of a letter written from Marseilles of the 20th of June, 1692, which says, "The subject of this present is chiefly to acquaint you with the death of M. de Marolles, that famous confessor of Christ, who hath been so long shut up in a dungeon in the great citadel, where they have made him to suffer very much. He was pressed to the last to change his religion, but he hath always persevered in his own. He died the day before yesterday, being buried by Turks. They must make an end as they had begun. Thus is he out of his misery, and crowned with glory in Abraham's bosom. We ought to desire to end our days as holily as he did, who died a true martyr with great constancy and resignation. Thus shall he enjoy an eternal recompence, whereas his persecutors shall have a great account to give to the sovereign Judge."

There is still another letter of the 20th of June, written to his wife, by that generous person who was on board the gallies, and who rendered our martyr all manner of services and consolations, as appears by the answers which M. de Marolles returned to his letters. He saith, among other things, that this dear martyr of the Lord resigned his spirit into the hands of his Father on the 17th of the present month, and was the next day laid in his last grave by six Turks, as it is the custom here to bury those who die faithful to their Saviour. I cannot, he proceeds, give you an exact account of his last hours, nor his last words. But I will tell you in a few words that which hath been known. You have already learned, that after having groaned for some time under irons, he was removed to a dungeon dreadful for its obscurity, and much more so for its stench. You know that they fed him but very ill there, and that he often laboured under hunger, not having enough even of bread and water, which was his common diet. This great austerity made him very weak, and flung him into great vertigoes, so that he

fell down about two months since with very weakness, and dashed his head against the wall, in which he made several wounds. He hath been continually languishing ever since that moment, and his life hath been nothing else but a living death. Those who had the management of him were insensible of all his pains, excepting that for these six weeks past they gave him a little better and a little greater quantity of victuals. But his body was weakened, and his nature brought so low, that it could not recover its strength. This faithful servant of the Lord had almost lost his sight about a month since: and although I had sent him your last letters, he could neither read them nor return any answer. God hath at length disposed of him, and he shall return to us no more. He hath gone through the most cruel torments which inhumanity, in its utmost extent, could inflict. I must tell you for your consolation, that from the time that they saw this dear martyr begin to grow weak and decay, he was often visited by doctors of the contrary communion; but this firm and immovable servant of God was not moved by their visits. He heard without trouble that which he rejected, and did not return railing for railing. He blessed his enemies to the last. His glory will never be blotted out, neither in heaven nor in the earth.

An Account of the Sufferings and Death of M. Isaac le Fevre, a French Protestant, who, after Eighteen Years Imprisonment, died a Slave in the French King's Gallies.

THE name of the martyr, Isaac le Fevre, is known every where; his bonds having rendered him famous in France, and in all Protestant countries. By profession he was an advocate, or counsellor at law, aged about 37 years when he was condemned, and 54 years of age when he died, in June, 1702. He was born at Chatel-chinon, in the Nivernois, of honourable parents, and one of the most considerable families of that country. He speaks thus of his parents:

"That great God hath been mindful of his promise, in favour of the children of those that fear him. My father and mother were of that number, and having walked before him in christian simplicity, died both in a good old age, in the communion of the true church. God took her to himself betimes, whom he had made the instrument of bringing me into the world; but I know her piety was exemplary, and her life edifying, and very remote from the vain amusements of the age. You know what was the probity, the zeal, the patience of my deceased father. I cannot

mention him without tenderness, but his memory is too dear to me to pass it over in silence. You visited him on his death-bed, or rather on his bed of life, and I remember that in coming away, you gave this testimony: I came to edify and comfort a sick person, but he edifies and comforts me. Such you saw him then, and such he was in all the course of his sickness, which was very long, and very severe, always resigned, patient, and very willing to give up his soul into the hands of his God. He was naturally hasty and passionate, but the grace of God raised him so much above himself, that it made him the most patient man in the world, in the extremest and most violent pains. I praise God, the God of my fathers, for the spirit of meekness wherewith he had endued his servant, and for the internal piety with which he had inspired him. And, as long as I live, I shall bless the Lord God of all flesh, the Father of spirits, who granted me the favour to be present in that moment, when he took the soul of his servant to himself, and when he put these words into my mouth, which I pronounced with an elevated voice, 'Lord Jesus, receive his spirit into thy hands.' May the blessed Jesus put them again into my heart and mouth at the last moment of my life, and say himself to my soul, Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord; I am thy Saviour! I cannot live, much less die without my God; and neither the world nor the devils shall ever separate me from him."

But I return. Isaac le Fevre had been very well educated. He had learning and ingenuity. He was sent to Geneva in 1663, where he went through the course of philosophy. A little while after he went to study the law at Orleans, where he maintained Theses, and took his degrees. Afterwards he went to Paris, where, having shewed his testimonials to M. Talon, who was at that time Advocate General, he was admitted as one of the advocates of the court of parliament. He came to Paris just at the same time that the Edict of Nantz was revoked, which caused him to depart from thence again immediately.

He was judged and condemned at Besanson, and conducted from thence to Dijon, where he came the 30th of May, 1686; but the hardship of the journey, added to the irons that were left on him, and those that were brought with him, had bruised his flesh. "I am," says he, in a letter from the prison of Dijon, "I am, as it were, impotent. I suffer great pains all over my body, and if it had not been for the comfort that the Lord sent me at Ausonne, they would not have brought me alive to Dijon. My irons were taken off at Ausonne, and I was set on horseback; whereas before I was in a waggon in a killing posture, and pressed on all sides: but whatever happens to us, we put our trust in

God, we hope in him only. I have had some fits of an ague more violent than usually, but God will not forsake me."

Being yet in the prison of Dijon, they would have obliged him to present a petition to Mr. the intendant, to obtain some favourable usage when he should be at the chain: but he thought it not fit, saying, that if he could distinguish himself from others, which he believed could not be done, it would be cowardice to separate himself from them. "We do not fear," said he, "all the preparations they threaten us with, and which we cannot avoid without a miracle; we wait for it, the sight of a passionate deputy and a troop of inhuman guards, will be nothing frightful to us. That which troubles me most, is the blasphemies of the wicked wretches with whom we shall be coupled."

At last, having continued about two months in the prisons of Dijon, he was conducted with his companions to Chalons, on the river Sone, where the chain arrived that came from Paris, to which M. de Marolles was fastened; and who was then sick, as he notes in a letter that he wrote from Chalons the 3d of August, 1686, wherein he says, If it was not for the sickness of the illustrious M. de Marolles, which continues still, I would tell you, my dear friend, nothing but matters of rejoicing: but my heart is wounded; I hope with the assistance of Heaven, that the fever of that martyr of the Lord Jesus will abate by rest; because they were to go by water, and that they had a little liberty, their chains being something lighter. At first he was coupled with a dragoon officer, whose name was Bon Valet, a very mild and discreet man, who was condemned to the gallies for having let a lady and others escape. As for him, he suffered much the first night, after which he was bound with M. de Marolles, and lay with him.

We may easily imagine that the journey of these martyrs was painful. Here is the relation he gives of it, from the Hospital of the galley-slaves at Marseilles, of the 20th of August, 1686, as soon as they arrived there.

"It seemed to me as if the Lord had made my flesh and skin grow old. I have found myself in the pains of death; the guard have thought me dead, and, as such, one took one thing, and another another thing from me, and, without the little stop we made at Avignon, I could expect nothing but a cruel death. With long entreaties M. de St. P. suffered me to take a litter, on condition I should pay the guard. Money was a great assistance to me. I have dispersed it. But wherefore all those cares and expenses, to come to a place that may be called the abode of misery, where I am mixed with a very great number of galley-slaves! I have been forty-eight hours without being able to eat or drink what they give here, and without being able to close an

eye. At last, recommending my soul to God in that condition, I spied Mr. J. coming to me, who told me that I was recommended to him by his friend G. After that visit the fever left me. My life is not precious to me, I could leave it with delight, if it were God's will; but the Lord works miracles to preserve it to me. Farewell, my dear, greet the brethren, and pray for me. They continue to speak of controversies to me, and of changing my religion: how long, Lord?"

While he was in that hospital of the galley-slaves, with M. de Marolles, he was very ill. "I fall," said he, "from one relapse into another, and have found myself at death's door. The physician of the hospital took great care of me; and he wondered to see me not complain, and that the pains I endured did not make me sigh. I could not walk these two days, and find myself very weak, but do not believe, for all that, that our situation is so unhappy as the people of the world think it; no, doubtless, were it only for the testimony of a good conscience, we are happy, and nothing can take our joy from us in our sufferings; the divine Comforter, who puts us all into heart, comes to our assistance: sometimes he hides himself, because we are people of little faith; but God pities our weaknesses; he supports us, and takes us by the hand, and in that state, death is no longer a king of terror to us. We are assured by him that loved us, that we shall receive mercy, and die the death of the righteous: what an advantage! what comfort! and what solid happiness is this!"

In a letter of the 17th of September, 1686, he says, "They send M. de Marolles and me to the gallies, without any regard that we are languishing and weak. M. de Marolles began to walk, but I cannot stand. M. de Marolles was declared invalid, and put into the St. John, so that he is exempted from rowing; and I expect what it shall please God so send me. I went on board yesterday, where I was immediately loaden with chains. To all this, I oppose the will of God. If poverty, sicknesses, pains, and captivity, are the means he will make use of, why should I refuse them? I shall die contentedly when it shall please God to call me. These are hard extremes, but though God should kill me, yet will I hope in him, and praise him all the days of my life. I am reduced to lie on a board that is but a little above two feet wide; I have nothing to cover me; but the galley-slaves, my neighbours, have stripped themselves for me; and if the lice and bugs had not afflicted me, I found myself disposed for sleep.

"While I was on board the Grand Reale, I was entered among the rest; for in that galley all the slaves are entered down from whencesoever they come. She never goes to sea, nor moves out of the harbour; and when she has many slaves

on board, they are all sorted from time to time, except those that they have a respect for, and they are brought into a spacious place, where the intendant, the commissary-general, and the captains of the gallies meet, and there they make choice of the lustiest and most vigorous of those that are able to row, and the rest are sent back to the Grand Reale until further orders. Choice being made of those that are in health, they are divided on the armed gallies. Each captain takes his share; but I was not cheapened, my bad looks were useful to me on that occasion. There was but one captain that put a little jest upon me; for turning towards me, he asked the Sieur Bonvalet, which was the advocate, for he wanted one. I answered him with such a sorrowful and languishing tone that I was the advocate, that he turned away from me."

But it must not be forgot, that before he came out of the gallies to be put into the dungeon, he wrote an excellent letter to his pastor. "My design was, dear pastor, to give you an exact relation of what happened to me, but certain reasons hinder me from it. I shall tell you but one word of my condition. I told you formerly that I was observed and shut up, and had not yet seen any thing. I was put on board a galley, where I was kept closer than I had been before. I was loaden with irons and chains; I lay on the boards, though it was very cold; they hindered me from covering myself; they railed at me, and raised up their cudgels against me; a fever seized me, and all my body was full of pain. In that condition, my soul, raising itself above visible things, sought its God, and its only hope. The comforts that our Lord Jesus Christ gave us, increased proportionably to the number of evils that we endured for his sake; he encouraged me in all my fears, and said to my soul, I am thy salvation. On board of one galley I had experienced the assistance of men, on board the other I experienced the assistance of God. What shall I say to you? that holy and divine spirit was himself my comforter. Who else could make me despise the things I feared most! The faithfulness of my God is great; he is near those that wait on him, to support, maintain, and defend them. He leads us through darkness to his marvellous light: and, among the dread of the gallies, he makes us taste ineffable delights. I might truly say, when I am weak, I am strong. I shall only add, that I am weakness itself; I have fightings without, and fears within; my heart is often troubled; my soul trembles and finds itself fainting; and if God comforts me, it is because he is my refuge, and that divers persons that are pleasing to him, pray for my preservation in faith and love. I conjure you then, by the charity you have for me, to pray without ceasing; and not only for me alone, but also for my dear fellow-creatures.

"Here are divers witnesses who preserve their hope and faith inviolably, and that are resolved to suffer all, yea death itself, if it please the Lord, for the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus. We endeavour to attain the mark of our high calling; the race is difficult; the way is rough, but we cast our eyes on the Lord Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; we place all our confidence in him that raised the dead, and that calls the things that are not, as if they were."

Now as he was kept close and guarded in his dungeon, there was no news to be had of him but with great trouble and charge; good part of the money that was designed for him and his companions, being employed to pay those that undertook to serve them in it, which they did not without extraordinary dangers, so far that some of them have been condemned to be hanged, and have been executed; which made him say, that it was a prodigy to find a faithful messenger, and that God must raise him extraordinarily to hinder him from seeing the greatness of the danger he exposed himself to; which was the reason that he kept his letters sometimes a year without finding a fit opportunity of sending them.

I shall begin with the description of his prison in Fort St. John, the situation whereof, he says, he knows not; the gate by which he entered into it being on the harbour. "It is a vault of an irregular figure, which was formerly a stable, but being too moist, was found unhealthful for horses. There are yet a rack and a manger in it, and no light can come into it, but by the door; the upper part whereof is broken, and grated within and without. Over against the opening are bars, fastened to an iron bar, rivetted at the top into the wall: the place is very dark and moist; the air of it is infected, and gives an ill scent; every thing rots in it, all the wells and fountains are above me. I never saw any fire there but that of a candle."

As he entered into that place they searched him, and took from him the only books that he had left. At first he lay two or three nights in a manger, and above a month on a very short and narrow chest, having two seats of straw, one at the feet, and the other at the head, higher than the chest, so that he lay high and low, without any other covering than the king's garments. Nevertheless, he says, he slept quietly enough. Sometimes the cold interrupted his sleep, but he shifted as well as he could. "This hard entertainment, adds he, caused me a defluxion on the teeth, great pains in the reins, rheumatism, and, at last, a continual fever; but God made use of those evils to wean my heart from the world, and to teach me to persevere in a faithful resignation to his will."

Though he was of a weak constitution, yet God raised him

five times from extraordinary sicknesses which he had in divers places. He had all kinds of agues, and a cruel cholic in the stomach. It is impossible but that he should suffer extremely in such an unwholesome place. He was reduced to almost nothing but skin and bone. Nobody durst come near him, nor look upon the place of his retreat. In some moments, he says, he considered death as his best friend, and as his great comfort, and that the happiness of his life consisted in the losing of it.

"Be sensible of my misery," said he to a dear relation, "but be yet much more sensible of the glory and the happiness to which this misery tends. Death is nothing, Jesus Christ conquered it for me; and when the time shall come, he will give me sufficient strength to pull off the mask it bears in great afflictions. *Major est metus vitæ quam mortis*, the fear of living a long time is greater than that of dying soon; in the mean time, it is more honourable to endure the most wretched life, than to desire death."

There were some intervals of time when he spoke as if he was just dying, and he said, under that apprehension, "that he asked pardon of all those whom he had offended by weakness, inadvertency, or otherwise;" and said, "I freely forgive those that have offended me in any manner whatsoever. No, it is not likely that I can live much longer, unless the Lord move the hearts of those to compassion that give order for my sustenance; the aliments which they give me being full of divers kinds of nastiness and impurities; and unless God acts in an extraordinary manner on my body, and on the aliments that they give us." Besides the badness of his food, he had yet poverty to oppose, being often without linen or clothes. It is likely, said he, that I should have been without a shirt, if God had not given me two by an extraordinary way; but I could never discover to whom I am indebted for them. I fell immediately on my knees before my God, to thank him for such an unexpected assistance.

"They do not forget to try always," says he, elsewhere, "to weary out my patience; and there is reason to believe that the money that is given for me, is not employed to my relief. I do not know what is done with it. That which is certain is, that when I entered into my dungeon, the major told me that the king would not maintain me, and that I ought to give order for my expenses." For that purpose he was permitted to send bills of exchange drawn by him on his relations, for the payment of his provision, without suffering him to write any thing about his condition, or his health: "I did it," says he, "and agreed with a keeper of a public-house for ten-pence a day, which lasted but three months: because the host that served me with provision, cheated me, and the major favoured him: though he seemed not

to approve of his conduct, on the complaints that were made to him about it. He had also promised that I should be provided with a mattrass and covering, mine being rotten, and my covering all rags; but all this without effect. In the mean time, how great soever my anguish was, I esteem it more expedient to suffer life, than to desire death, unless it be desired, as St. Paul did, to be with Christ, to possess the fulness of that holiness and charity, that is only to be found in heaven." Whereupon he blames the conduct of Eusebius of Verceil, who, being confined to Scythopolis by the Arians, had a design of starving himself to death, quoting on that subject,

" Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere mortem,
" Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest."

" God," said he, " will be glorified by my sufferings; the longer they are, and the more difficult to be supported, the more glory the Lord will have by them," alleging on that subject the words of an ancient, " *Unde esset magnum perseverare nisi inter tribulationes, et tentationes esset perseverandum.*"

" I am," says he, " always pursued with the same violence; there is no intermission in regard of me; they always deny me all manner of commerce with the living, and also with the dead; but the Lord, who is my God, and my deliverer, has relieved me: he has had pity on my weakness, and given me a patience that I never durst have hoped for; glory be given to him for it, now and evermore. It is glorious," says he again elsewhere on the same subject, " it is glorious to suffer for his cause, it is the most excellent manner whereby God can be glorified by men, as it is the greatest sign of glory and honour that God does to men. I do not refuse the honour he does me on that account, but I conjure him, by the bowels of his mercy, to produce in me powerfully both to will and to do according to his good pleasure. I acknowledge that men make me suffer for God, and that God makes me suffer for my sins. That he permits men to make me suffer is doubtless for my sins, but it is at the same time also for his interest, and for justice. Therefore it is that God is always just and faithful in his promises, takes my part, and the defence of my cause: If he does not hear me *ad voluntatem*, he will hear me *ad salutem;* and whether I live, or whether I die, I will live to him, and die to him."

In a letter to Mademoiselle R., we find M. Isaac le Fevre speaking as follows: " I enter into the 10th year of my sufferings, (this was in 1695) and by God's grace, I have neither lost patience nor faith, at least not totally. Ah, my dear kinswoman, the Lord has heard your prayers, and those of the Moseses and of the Samuels, that intercede for me. If I was but disburthened from the weight of my sins, if I could disengage myself from

the thoughts of the world, I should be too happy, I should be incomparably more happy than I was in the world, though when I left it, I had almost what I could reasonably desire in it. But I confess with grief and confusion, that I am a man of little faith, and a sinner. I have desired my visible and temporal liberty with too much fervency."

All his prayers and meditations were accompanied with trust in God. "I expect all," said he, "from the grace of my God: I hope all from my Saviour Jesus Christ, who will subject my flesh to himself, and who will heal the diseases of my soul. I have often said with a father for whom I have a veneration, that I should despair, if I had not a great physician. My comfort is, that this great physician has undertaken my cure; and that he will never forsake me; he sought me, when I did not seek him. He has engaged me in the defence of his truth, in spite of my resistance and my fear: will he forsake me then, when I seek him, and when I am afraid of nothing more than that I should fear something else more than him? No, because that seeking after him, that desire, and that filial fear, are earnests of his love, and assurances of his protection. What has he not done, and what does he not do for me; and where can I find one like him in heaven or in earth? He opens the ears of my mind, to make me hear his voice; he takes me by the hand when I stagger; he raises me up when I am fallen, he supports me in my weaknesses, and defeats all the strength of those wild beasts that would devour me. His design is to lead me into that city whereof honourable things are spoken."

"As for the rest," added he, "God is always in my heart, though he does not always make himself to be equally felt there. I will act with confidence, provided he assists me, for without his assistance I fall away like water that runs apace. God is stronger than all, and nobody can take me out of his hand; I depend upon his goodness, whereof he has given me so many proofs. The tender care that his adorable Providence has been pleased to take of me, strengthens me in the midst of my fears; he declared himself my protector from the time that the judges seated themselves on their tribunal to judge me. They pressed me on my trial, and told me, I had yet that moment to avoid a condemnation to the gallies. I answered the court, that I could not betray the dictates of my conscience: I was condemned by men, and justified before God. I have comprehended in all this, that the life of my soul, its repose, its true happiness, consists in following the will of God, in depending solely upon his wise counsels, and in keeping myself wholly devoted to his service."

Several considerable persons testified their desire of procuring

for him and his companions, some alleviation in their sufferings, and among the rest the Swiss Cantons, who have signalized their zeal upon that account, and particularly the illustrious M. Escher, Burgomaster of Zurich, and his family.

Having received a copy of the letter that M. the Burgomaster Escher, wrote to those dear sufferers on that subject, I insert it as follows:

"*Gentlemen, and most dear Brethren,*

"I have laboured on your deliverance, I have employed my friends about it; and, having had occasion to go the last week to Soleure, I have repeated my instances to Mons. the ambassador Amleot. But as they give me no positive answer, and always sent me away with the same compliment to remain satisfied that things would be done sooner than I thought, and therefore finding myself, to my great regret, frustrated of the hope I had conceived hitherto, I cannot remain silent any longer. But I return you, gentlemen, and most dear brethren, my most humble thanks, for the goodness you have had to think on a person that assuredly shares in your afflictions, and who, till this time, has employed all his endeavours to ease you in the hard slavery which is so unjustly laid upon you. I am willing, and find myself obliged, as a Christian and a brother, to continue to endeavour the procuring of your deliverance; but I desire you to be persuaded, that though I have the honour to be invested with the chief post in the Helvetick body, yet nevertheless I acknowledge myself a poor sinner, who ought not to seek for comfort in worldly vanities, but in humility of mind. Dear brethren, I have read your letters, and they have afforded me much edification. Persevere, since you see that God does such great things for you, and that he has called you to suffer for his holy name, in those wretched places, that are commonly the receptacles of the villians of the world, and who, doubtless, by their wickednesses add a torment to your righteous souls. But be of good heart, my dear brethren, since you know that God has so disposed of things, that all shall work together for good to his children; and that, as all human things have their end, the good God has also ordered an end to your labours. Gentlemen, I recommend myself, and my numerous family, to your prayers, knowing that they will surely be heard. I shall always remember your sufferings in my prayers, though they may be accompanied with many infirmities.

"I have sent 40 pistoles to M. M——, at Bern, to distribute amongst you as he has opportunity; be pleased to accept of that small sum, which comes from me and three of my sons, and be assured that it comes from free hearts, that wish you the continu-

ance of the divine comforts, and a speedy deliverance, with all opportunities of doing you service, and particularly this is my wish, who am sincerely, Gentlemen,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,

"HENRY ESCHER."

The solicitations of other great persons in the world, who concerned themselves in this affair, as well as those praise-worthy evangelical cantons, were ineffectual.

The Sieur Peter Mauru, who died also a martyr, and who triumphed gloriously in his life, and by his death, over all the efforts and rage of men and devils, was one of I. le Fevre's intimate friends. That happy martyr going out of the kingdom, was stopped in Burgundy. He was joined to our martyr in the prisons of Besanson, and condemned very near the same time to the gallies for ever. "I was," says M. le Fevre, "a witness how little he valued the money that was taken from him, and of the joy which he felt when he was condemned to the gallies. He run his race with the same courage and zeal, which he had begun in the prisons of Besanson. Before he came to the gallies, he was coupled in the way with Philip le Boucher. And because that poor man could not carry his chain, which he was forced to do, or suffer for it, Mauru raised the collar with his hands, above his head; and he, who was stronger, bore it on his head and shoulders; and, taking a forked stick of a tree, he supported it in such a manner, that his companion was, as it were, wholly discharged of the burden, carrying in that manner all the burden, even in the heat of the dog-days."

Though I have no other design than to write the life and martyrdom of M. le Fevre, yet nevertheless I have said something of the condition of his friends; neither do I believe that I ought to omit certain particular facts that happened in those times, whereof he, or his correspondents, have informed us by their letters. "I have been afflicted, but yet more rejoiced," says the person from whom we have this history, "for what happened some days past at Marseilles to a handsome young maiden, whom God took to himself by sickness. As she was at the point of death, a priest came to take her confession. But she would not hear him, or to say better, she made quite another confession to that seducer, than he expected to hear from her, when he charged her with denying her heavenly Jesus. What, said he to her, you do not believe that God is in the host; dare you revile such a great mystery thus? No, said she, I do not believe any thing of it, my Saviour is spiritually every where, but heaven is the place where he dwells, and I adore him there, and not in that which is nothing without him; this is my faith, wherein I will

die. So lifting up her eyes towards heaven, she gave up her soul to her faithful Creator in that blessed disposition. The priest called witnesses to attest this; upon this her body was carried to the court, from whence it was drawn by the executioner on a dung cart, through the city, and then cast on a dunghill. They cut off the back part of her head, and it is said they cut out her tongue also, for having glorified her God. Thus men dishonourably exercised their cruelty and inhumanity on the body, while angels carried the soul triumphantly into Abraham's bosom. How honourable that sepulchre, and how glorious art thou, O daughter of heaven! They refused the poor corpse the earth it required, and she was buried under a heap of stones, which her persecutors had discharged upon her."

The beginning of the massacres, (by the bastinado) is noted to us from about the end of the year 1699, which have continued above a year, not having ceased until the month of July, 1701. The storm was great on board of all the gallies that were in harbour, except that wherein the old men and the invalids were. Those that were at sea were exempted from it. Some of the officers who presided at those executions, exhorted the Protestants to take off their caps by way of civility, and not to give any scandal; and that they did not desire them to change their religon: "Take off your cap, look towards the stern," said the major, to any whom he had a mind to lash, "and afterwards pray to God, Calvin, or whom thou wilt."

Here is the extract of a note from Marseilles.

"They have unmercifully butchered our brethren on board the gallies that were not at sea, for refusing to put off their bonnets during the service, and they have been so exasperated against those that shewed an unshaken constancy, that they have put them in such a condition, as would make the rocks to tremble if they were capable of any sense. After that barbarous usage, they carried divers of them who were constant, to the hospital. The first time they gave that cruel bastinado to M. Serre the elder, he had almost expired under the burthen of that punishment, as you will see by one of his letters which I annex to this.

"I leave you to think in what a pitiful condition they put him the next morning, when they gave it him in such a cruel manner, that the blood gushed, or at least spurted out upon the great gun. From thence he was carried to the hospital; whence, after God had miraculously recovered him, he was transferred to the castle of J. F. and there he is left without so much as an old straw-bed to lie on. God be praised, we have heard from him. His almost broken bones make him feel great pains all over his body. The two Messieurs Carrieres, that underwent

the same inhumanities, are transferred also to the same place. Poor M. Elias Maurin, who was twice put upon the rack, is shut up in the hospital with bread and water. Alexander, of the Magnanimous galley, has been tortured four times with a tarred rope dipped in the sea, which makes it almost as hard as an iron bar.

"Before all things, Mons. my most dear ally, and most honoured pastor," (it is M. le Fevre that speaks here, and who sends those extracts) "I invite you to come and see what may be called a man more than *vir prodigii*, who, like a true soldier, is never more ardent than in the midst of danger. The ruder the shock is, the more his heart is inflamed; notwithstanding all the sores he is covered with, he is yet preparing for greater combats."

An extract of a letter that M. de Serre the elder, wrote the 8th of October, 1700, with a bloody and torn body, and manacles on his hands, with this inscription:

"To the dear faithful, that have not been ashamed of me in my chains, the peace, love, and grace of our Lord be communicated and multiplied unto you to the end.

"I write to you with manacles on my hands, and the marks of my divine Jesus, printed on my back. —— C——, and another that went before me, having obeyed after four blows with the cudgel, the Major came to me. He told me several idle stories, to which I answered in few, but sedate words, that he might do his office. My resolution animated him against me, so that he gave me the cruelest blows, and my soul was almost expiring. He would have had me to comply, but seeing me to persist in my resolution, he was enraged. My constancy, which was an example to others, gave them courage; but I am deceived, it was celestial grace. What thanks do I owe to my God, for the inestimable favour he has done me to suffer for the interests of his glory! let all christian people praise him with me! To which I invite you, dearly beloved of the Lord: but above all, faithful souls, pray him to give me perseverance, that I may hold out to the end, without which all the rest would be in vain, and I should be covered with eternal confusion. As the Major was yet treating our brethren ill, and by his order they were putting manacles on me, a man came hither from M. the Intendant, whose name is Mr. Regis, who whispered the Major in the ear, and shewed him a memoir. Presently I was asked for, and the Major said to him with a threatening tone, Oh, it is Mr. Serre, I have lashed him severely; but this evening, I will lash his back so that he shall feel it as long as he lives. So that, my dear friends, I am preparing myself for death. It is thought that I shall be this evening, or to-morrow, at the castle of J. F. after they have

put me to the torture. May it please the Father of mercy, that I do not degenerate! Accompany me with your prayers in my dungeon, if I am carried thither: I shall not lose sight of you, but shall for ever preserve the remembrance of your bounties and tenderness. I embrace and honour you with all my heart, and am, and ever shall be, brethren and sisters in our Lord Jesus Christ,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

The 18th of October, 1700; SERRE."

on board the Fortune galley.

One lady had leave to see M. le Fevre sometimes, in the presence of witnesses. She found him always like St. Stephen, that is, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and all zeal and charity for his persecutors. The last time when she saw him was two days before his death; he seemed to her very weak. She went away from him very much edified, recommending him to the grace of God, and to those who looked after him, with a promise that he should be put into the ground after his death, which happened the second day following; during which he had, with respect to his soul, only the presence of his God, and the consolations of his Spirit for assistance.

Besides what the Lady Salicroffe, who had seen him two days before his death, wrote of him to her acquaintance at Paris, other persons have taken care to write to us two or three days after his death.

"Finally," says M. J. to us, "that blessed champion of the Lord Jesus, the most illustrious, and the most generous of my companions in sufferings, past, at eleven o'clock of night, from the bitterness of the conflict to the ineffable sweets of the blessed martyrs of the Lord Jesus Christ. See, I say, that holy martyr passed from his prison, into the perfect liberty of the children of God; from that dark dwelling that had served for a stable, and wherein there is yet a manger, into the palace of the King of kings!

"He adds in another letter, that all our society is afflicted at that loss. The death of our most precious friend will particularly pierce my dear brethren, his associates, with grief. The Lord comfort us all. Finally he informs us, that they were told, that the commander, seeing him after his death carried before the prison, said to those that were with him, 'See! the mortification that this poor man suffered sixteen years and two months in that prison, is something wonderful.' This he repeated divers times.

"We learn by another letter from Messieurs B. that he retained his senses to the last; for a man that saw him take some

broth a little before night, told us that he spoke freely, and that he believed he should die that night, as it also happened about eleven o'clock. His lungs were touched some time before, and the three or four last days he was taken with a looseness and vomiting, that weakened him quite. We were exceedingly afflicted at it, and being only able to assist him with our wishes, we recommended our brethren to redouble their prayers. As for his corpse, Madam Salicroffe caused it to be wrapped in linen, and laid in a coffin, and he was buried by four of our brethren. We are sorry that we could not collect what he might have said in his sickness. He is dead, that is to say, he has conquered by the grace of God. There remains nothing more for him than to triumph with his Saviour, and to possess that eternal kingdom and crown, which he purchased for his confessors and martyrs."

An Extract of a Memoir concerning M. le Fevre, from Marseilles, the 21st of August, 1702.

" Monsieur le Fevre having been condemned to the gallies by the parliament of Besanson, came sick to Marseilles, the 20th of August, 1686. He was presently looked upon as a person fit to support and strengthen his brethren and companions at the chain, by his exhortations and consolations. He was shut up about the month of February, 1687, in Fort St. John, which is at the entrance of the harbour of Marseilles, in a dungeon which had formerly served for a stable, the windows whereof were so close shut up, that there was but little light in it. He was exposed there to a mournful solitude, and a great number of hardships. And though he paid a considerable sum, besides the five sols that the king allows the prisoners, he was sufficiently abused in his provision and his drink; for every body is sensible that it is not good to be in the hands of a covetous and inhuman jailer. He was not suffered to have any fire in the severest season of the winter, to go out to take the air, nor to write to his relations, nor to have any conversation with the living, as he notes in a letter which he wrote to one of his friends. But in spite of the vigilance wherewith he was kept, his brethren of the gallies had found the means to communicate with him by writing, which they did for some years; and in the year 1696, a serjeant that delivered the letters, and who was well paid for it, was discovered, and was condemned to be hanged for it. He confessed that he had carried letters from one party to the other, but that he believed he had done a good work. After that time the door of M. le Fevre's dungeon was guarded in sight; the soldier who stood sentry before the gate of the Governor's house, guarded the dungeon at the same time. The serjeant of the guard, at-

tended by two or three musketeers, brought him his provision every day; and when they went the rounds, they always asked him what he was doing, so much care they took of guarding him. Notwithstanding all this, his brethren had yet some correspondence with him, according as they found soldiers fit for it; but that correspondence was quite broken off, when there was most occasion for it, seeing it was at the time when that blessed man began to be in a consumption. They could no longer know how he did but by the soldiers who brought him food, who told us that he was well, seeing that he did eat and drink as those commonly do that are touched in the lungs. His distemper increasing daily, he kept his bed altogether in the month of June, and he had a vomiting and looseness that quite spent him. He had his perfect senses until the last day, for a soldier told us, that the evening of the 13th of June he saw him take some broth, and in taking it, he said with a settled mind, and with submission to the will of God, that he should not live that night over, which was true; for the jailer's daughter carrying some wine to him about eleven o'clock in the night, found him dead. The commander had ordered the jailer to leave a man with him in his dungeon to assist him that night, seeing he drew to an end, but the jailer did not do it. He was wrapped in a winding sheet and put into a coffin. Orders were sent on board the galley to send four Turks to bury him; but four of our brethren obtained leave to go in their stead, to do their last duty to the faithful martyr of Jesus. He was buried in a corner of that fort, near the ditch. The Governor, seeing him dead, said aloud, it is wonderful that this man could live so long in a penance of sixteen years and two months, that he has been in this prison. It is great pity that we could not collect his last words; but God did not suffer it, for reasons he has in his profound wisdom. He did not continue idle in his solitude; he read or wrote continually. He had made a translation of the Psalms, and turned the book of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ*, that the almoners had sent him, into French verses. About eighteen months past, that faithful servant of Jesus Christ, wishing to obtain some victory over himself, desired us to pray to God for him in an extraordinary manner, and to join our prayers with his; he appointed us the hour of nine in the evening, when we should hear the gun fire, when it is most quiet, having no labour to do on board the gallies, and most of the slaves being laid down. God heard him; but he did not tell us in what it consisted. When we asked the soldiers concerning him, they said he was a saint; not knowing how to express themselves otherways. He was not a saint as their ignorance commonly understands of others; a fabulous miracle saint, but he was a man in whom they might have seen a great miracle, if

they had given attention to him; for it is no small matter, that a person of such a weak and delicate constitution, should remain so many years in such a captivity as our martyr was, and yet was always found so joyful and contented in it, that he triumphed over what the world has of sweets and rigours, and triumphed over himself also. Happy are they in whom the Lord works those wonders of grace and mercy. God grant, that we may live the life, and die the death of the righteous, and enter into the rest of the ever blessed. The brethren who sign here for witnesses of the truth of the above-mentioned, recommend themselves, and their fellow-sufferers to your prayers."

Marseilles, August 21, 1702.

Account of the Martyrdom of John Calas, of Thoulouse, in the year 1761.

BY this interesting story, the truth of which is not only certified in historical records, but the event is still fresh in the memory of several persons, natives of Thoulouse, we have ample proofs, if any were requisite, that the abominable spirit of popish persecution will always prevail, wherever that most diabolical religion has an ascendancy. This shocking act took place in a polished age, and hence it proves, that neither experience, nor improvement, can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman Catholics, or render them less cruel, or inexorable to the Protestants.

John Calas was a merchant of the city of Thoulouse, where he had settled, and lived in good repute; he had also married an English woman of French extraction.

Calas and his wife were both Protestants, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman Catholic, having been converted by a maid-servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment or ill-will upon the occasion, but kept the maid in the family, and settled an annuity upon the son. In October, 1761, the family consisted of John Calas and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas, the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practice, on account of his being a Protestant: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books which he could procure, relative to suicide, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a dissipated life, was greatly addicted to gaming, and did all which could constitute the character of a libertine. On this account his father frequently reprehended him, and some-

times in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that seemed to oppress him.

M. Gober la Vaisse, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the son of La Vaisse, a celebrated advocate of Thoulouse, having been some time at Bourdeaux, came back to Thoulouse to see his father, on the 13th of October, 1761; but finding that he was gone to his country-house, at some distance from the city, he went to several places, endeavouring to hire a horse to carry him thither. No horse, however, was to be obtained; and, about five o'clock in the evening, he was met by John Calas, the father, and the eldest son, Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, as he could not set out for his father's that night, and La Vaisse consented. All three, therefore, proceeded to Calas's house together, and when they came thither, finding that Mrs. Calas was still in her own room, which she had not quitted that day, La Vaisse went up to see her. After the first compliments, he told her, he was to sup with her by her husband's invitation, at which she expressed her satisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give some orders to her maid. When that was done, she went to look for her son Anthony, whom she found sitting alone in the shop, very pensive; she gave him some money, and desired him to go and buy some Roquefort cheese, as he was a better judge of the quality of cheese than any other person in the family. She then returned to her guest La Vaisse, who very soon after went again to the livery stable, to see if any horse was come in, that he might secure it for the next morning.

In a short time Anthony returned, having bought the cheese, and La Vaisse also coming back about the same time, the family and their guest sat down to supper, in a room up one pair of stairs; the whole company consisting of Calas the father, and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas, the sons, and La Vaisse the guest, no other person being in the house, except the maid-servant, who has been mentioned already. This was about seven o'clock: the supper was not long, but before it was over, or, according to the French expression, "when they came to the dessert," Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the same floor, as he was accustomed to do. The maid asked him if he was cold? He answered, "Quite the contrary, I burn;" and then left her. In the mean time his friend and family left the room they had supped in, and went into a bed-chamber; the father and La Vaisse sat down together on a sofa, the younger son Peter in an elbow chair, and the mother in another chair; and without making any inquiry after Anthony, continued in conversation together till between nine

and ten o'clock, when La Vaisse took his leave, and Peter, who had fallen asleep, was awakened to attend him with a light.

There was on the ground floor of Calas's house a shop and a warehouse; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovery of this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the rope that suspended him was fastened, slipped off from the folding-door of the warehouse, and fell down. Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring himself and his child. The two young men, his second son and La Vaisse, who had not had presence of mind to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror. In the mean time the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding no one come to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she saw La Vaisse, and hastily demanded what was the matter. This question roused Calas in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again up stairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consented; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the scene, that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time Peter had sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, named Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination he found the body quite dead; and, upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffata, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save, at least, the honour of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

A crowd of people by this time were gathered about the house,

and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family, had come in. Some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend, before they knew what was the matter; and having by some means heard that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon, who had examined the body, declared he had been strangled, they took it into their heads he had been murdered; and, as the family were Protestants, they presently supposed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reason. The cries they had heard they fancied were those of the deceased, while he was resisting the violence that was offered him. The tumult in the street increased every moment: some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that Protestants are bound by their religion to strangle or cut the throats of their children, when they are inclined to become Catholics. Others, who had found out that La Vaisse was in the house when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the Protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be their common executioner upon these occasions, and that La Vaisse was the man, who, in consequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas's house to hang his son.

Now the poor father, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his child, was advised by his friends to send for the officers of justice to prevent his being torn to pieces by the multitude, who supposed that he had murdered his son. This was accordingly done: a messenger was despatched to the capitoul, one David, the first magistrate of the place; and another to an inferior officer, called an assessor. The capitoul had already set out, having been alarmed by the rumour of a murder, before the messenger sent from Calas's got to his house. He entered Calas's with forty soldiers, took the father, Peter the son, the mother, La Vaisse, and the maid, into custody, and set a guard over them. He sent for M. de la Tour, a physician, and M. la Marque and Perronet, surgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck; they found also the hair of the deceased done up in the usual manner, perfectly smooth, and without the least disorder: his clothes were also regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his shirt either unbuttoned or torn.

The capitoul, notwithstanding these appearances, thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be hanged; that La Vaisse had come to perform the office of executioner; and that he had received assistance from the father and brother.

On account of these notions the capitoul ordered the body of

the deceased to be carried to the town-house, with the clothes. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaisse, the maid, and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the verbal process was taken at the town-house, instead of the spot where the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas's house to conceal the irregularity. This verbal process is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in England; witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report, which is the same there as the verdict of the coroner's jury in England. The witnesses examined by the capitoul were, the physician and surgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been strangled. The surgeon having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed also, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death. Finding that no proof of the murder could be procured, the capitoul had recourse to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all persons were required to give such testimony against it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to speak. This recites, that La Vaisse was commissioned by the Protestants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion; it recites also, that when the Protestants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any person had seen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he strangled him: it recites likewise, that Anthony died a Roman Catholic, and requires evidence of his catholicism.

These ridiculous opinions being adopted and published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that they should be suspected of such opinions by persons, whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

However, before this monitory was published, the mob had got a notion that Anthony Calas was, the next day, to have entered into the fraternity of the White Penitents. The capitoul immediately adopted this opinion also, without the least examination, and ordered Anthony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, which was accordingly done; forty priests, and all the white penitents, assisting in the funeral procession.

A short time after the interment of the deceased, the white penitents performed a solemn service for him in their chapel: the church was hung with white, and a tomb was raised in the middle of it, on the top of which was placed a human skeleton,

holding in one hand a paper, on which was written, "Abjuration of heresy," and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

The Franciscans performed a service of the same kind for him the next day; and it is easy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this strange folly of their magistrates and priests.

Still the capitoul continued the prosecution with unrelenting severity; and though the grief and distraction of the family, when he first came to the house, were alone sufficient to have convinced any reasonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they deplored, yet having publickly attested that they were guilty, in his monitory, without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend, and servant, to the torture, and put them all into irons on the 18th of November. Casing was enlarged upon proof that he was not in Calas's house till after Anthony was dead.

From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, and annulled the sentence of the capitoul as irregular; but the prosecution still continued.

As soon as the trial came on, the hangman, who had been taken to Calas's house, and shewn the folding-doors and the bar, deposed, that it was impossible Anthony should hang himself as was pretended. Another witness swore, that he looked through the key-hole of Calas's door into a room, where he saw men running hastily to and fro. A third swore, that his wife had told him, a woman, named Maundril, had told her, that a certain woman unknown had declared, she heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the further end of the city.

From this evidence the majority of the parliament were of opinion, that the prisoners were guilty, and therefore ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Thoulouse.

There was among those who presided at the trial, one La Borde, who had zealously opposed the popular prejudices; and though it was manifest to demonstration, that the prisoners were either all innocent or all guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the last stroke when he had laid two hours, and then to be burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others; three were for the torture alone; two were of opinion that they should endeavour to ascertain upon the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not; and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debates the majority was for the torture

and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would, in the agony, confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate, therefore, they suspended. It is, however, certain, that if they had evidence against the father that would have justified the sentence they pronounced against him, that very evidence would have justified the same sentence against the rest; and that they could not justly condemn him, for they were all in the house together when Anthony died. All concurred in declaring he hanged himself, that the persons accused could have had no motive to do such an act, nor could they have hanged him by violence, without the knowledge of the rest.

However, poor Calas, who was 68 years of age, was condemned to this dreadful punishment alone. He suffered the torture with great constancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited the admiration of all that saw him.

Father Bourges and Father Coldagues, the two Dominicans who attended him in his last moments, wished their latter end might be like his, and declared, that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true christian patience, charity, and fortitude.

He gave but one single shriek, and that not very violent, when he received the first stroke; after that he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he expressed himself with a humble hope of a happy immortality, and a compassionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he saw the executioner prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth, the capitoul, the author of this catastrophe, and who came upon the scaffold merely to gratify his desire of being a witness of his punishment and death, ran up to him, and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the faggots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth." M. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aside, and that moment the executioner did his office.

Donat Calas, a boy of fifteen years of age, and the youngest son of the unfortunate victim, was apprenticed to a merchant at Nismes, when he heard of the dreadful punishment by which seven prejudiced judges of Thoulouse, had put his worthy father to death.

So violent was the popular outcry against this family in Languedoc, that every body expected to see the children of Calas broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive. Even the attorney-general expected it. So weak, it is said, had been the defence made by this innocent family, oppressed by misfortunes,

and terrified at the sight of lighted piles, racks, and wheels. Young Donat Calas was made to dread sharing the fate of the rest of his family, and was advised to flee into Switzerland: he went and found a gentleman, who, at first, could only pity and relieve him, without daring to judge of the rigour exercised against the father, mother, and brothers. Shortly after, one of the brothers, who was only banished, likewise threw himself into the arms of the same person, who, for more than a month, took every possible precaution to be assured of the innocence of this family. But when he was once convinced, he thought himself obliged, in conscience, to employ his friends, his purse, his pen, and his credit, to repair the fatal mistake of the seven judges of Thoulouse, and to have the proceedings revised by the king's council. The revision lasted three years, and it is well known what honour Messrs. de Gaosne and Bacquancourt acquired by reporting this memorable cause. Fifty masters of the Court of Requests unanimously declared the whole family of Calas innocent, and recommended them to the benevolent justice of his majesty. The duke de Choiseul, who never let slip an opportunity of signalizing the greatness of his character, not only assisted this unfortunate family with money, but obtained for them a gratuity of 36,000 livres from the king.

The arrêt which justified the family of Calas, and changed their fate, was signed on the 9th of March, 1765. The 9th of March, 1762, was the very day on which the innocent and virtuous father of that family had been executed. All Paris ran in crowds to see them come out of prison, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears streamed down their cheeks.

Account of the Persecutions in Venice, and other parts of Italy.

BEFORE the terrors of the Inquisition were known at Venice, a great number of Protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the labours of their ministers. The pope no sooner learned the great increase of Protestantism, than he, in the year 1542, sent Inquisitors to Venice, to inquire into the affair, and apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious. Hence a severe persecution began, and many persons were martyred for serving God with sincerity, and scorning the trappings of superstition.

Several were the modes by which the Protestants were deprived of life; but one in particular, being both new and singular, we shall describe: as soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, to which was suspended a great stone, fastened to his body; he was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face up-

wards, and rowed between two boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and, by the weight of the stone, he was sunk to the bottom.

If any dared to deny the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were conveyed to Rome, where, being committed purposely to damp and nauseous prisons, and never called to a hearing, their flesh mortified, and a most miserable death ensued.

A citizen of Venice, named *Anthony Ricetti*, being apprehended as a Protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner above described. A few days previous to his execution, his son went to him and entreated him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left an orphan. To this the father replied, "A good Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself for the glory of his Redeemer." The nobles of Venice likewise sent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman Catholic religion, they would not only grant him life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, sending word, that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations. Finding all endeavours to persuade him ineffectual, they ordered the execution of his sentence, which took place accordingly, while he died recommending his soul fervently to his Redeemer.

Francis Sega, another Venetian, steadfastly persisting in his faith, was executed a few days after Ricetti, in the same manner.

Francis Spinola, a Protestant gentleman of very great learning, was apprehended by order of the inquisitors and carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the Lord's Supper was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, "I confess myself its author; and believe there is not a line in it, but what is authorized by, and consonant to, the Holy Scriptures." On this confession he was committed close prisoner to a dungeon. After remaining there several days, he was brought to a second examination, when he charged the pope's legate and the inquisitors with being merciless barbarians, and represented the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome in so strong a light, that, unable to refute his arguments, they recommitted him to his dungeon. Being brought up a third time, they asked him if he would recant his errors, to which he answered, that the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the sacred volumes. The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to death with joy, thinking it a

happiness so soon to enter the world of glory, to dwell with God and the spirits of just men made perfect.

John Mollius was born at Rome of a respectable family. At twelve years old his parents placed him in a monastery of grey friars, where he made so rapid a progress in his studies, that he was admitted to priests' orders at the early age of eighteen years. He was then sent to Ferrara, where, after six years further study, he was appointed theological lecturer to the university of that city. Here he began to exert his great talents to disguise gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. Having passed some years here, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. At length, reading some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he was struck with the errors of popery, and became in his heart a zealous Protestant. He now determined to expound, in truth and simplicity, St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular course of sermons; at each of which he was attended by a vast concourse of people. But when the priests learned his doctrines, they despatched an account thereof to Rome; when the pope sent Cornelius, a monk, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to his own tenets, and to controvert the doctrine of Mollius. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius increased, while Cornelius preached to empty benches. The latter on this wrote of his bad success to the pope, who immediately ordered Mollius to be apprehended. He was seized accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The bishop of Bononia sent him word, that he must recant or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was in consequence removed thither. Here he begged to have a public trial; but this the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to explain his opinions in writing, which, accordingly, he did under the following heads: 1. Original sin. 2. Free-will. 3. The infallibility of the church of Rome. 4. The infallibility of the pope. 5. Justification by faith. 6. Purgatory. 7. Transubstantiation. 8. Mass. 9. Auricular confession. 10. Prayers for the dead. 11. The host. 12. Prayers to saints. 13. Going on pilgrimages. 14. Extreme Unction. 15. Performing service in an unknown tongue. All these he treated on Scripture authority. The pope, for reasons of policy, spared him for the present; but soon after, in 1553, had him apprehended, and afterwards hanged, and his body burnt to ashes.

Francis Gambia, a Lombard and a Protestant, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the senate of Milan, in the year 1554. At the place of execution, he was presented by a monk with a cross. "My mind," said Gambia, "is so full of

the real merits and goodness of Christ, that I want not a piece of senseless stick to put me in mind of him." For this expression his tongue was bored through, after which he was committed to the flames.

About the same period, *Algerius*, a learned and accomplished student in the university of Padua, embraced the reformed religion, and was zealous in the conversion of others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to prison at Venice, whence he wrote to his friends at Padua the following epistle.

" *Dear Friends*,

" I cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement: to suffer for Christ is delectable indeed; to undergo a little transitory pain in this world, for his sake, is cheaply purchasing a reversion of eternal glory, in a life that is everlasting. Hence I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; a paradise in a prison; tranquillity in the house of sorrow; where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone confers these favours on me; be his the glory and the praise.

" How different do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity: I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is present with me; he comforts my spirit, heals my griefs, strengthens my mind, refreshes my heart, and fortifies my soul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who supports his servants under temptations, expels their sorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even visits them with his glorious presence in the gloom of a dismal dungeon.

" Your sincere friend,

" ALGERIUS."

The pope being informed of Algerius's great learning and abilities, he sent for him to Rome, and tried, by every means, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours hopeless, he ordered him to be burnt.

In 1559, *John Alloysius*, a Protestant teacher, having come from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended, carried to Rome, and burnt by order of the pope: and at Messina, *James Bovellus* was burnt for the same offence.

In the year 1560, pope Pius the Fourth commenced a general persecution of the Protestants throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman Catholic thus speaks in a letter to a nobleman:

"I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments with respect to the persecution now carrying on. I think it cruel and unnecessary; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye-witness: seventy Protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together: the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another, and despatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office."

A farther Account of the Persecutions in the Vallies of Piedmont, in the seventeenth century.

POPE CLEMENT the Eighth sent missionaries into the vallies of Piedmont, with a view to induce the Protestants to renounce their religion. These missionaries erected monasteries in several parts of the vallies, and soon became very troublesome to the reformed, to whom the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to flee to, as had injured them in any degree.

The insolence and tyranny of these missionaries increasing, the Protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy for protection. But instead of getting any redress, the duke published a decree, in which he declared, that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a Protestant; and that any witness who convicted a Protestant of any crime whatever, should be entitled to a hundred crowns as a reward.

In consequence of this, as may be imagined, many Protestants fell martyrs to perjury and avarice; for several papists would swear any thing against them for the sake of the reward, and then flee to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths.

These missionaries endeavoured to get the books of the Protestants into their power, in order to burn them; and on the latter concealing them, the former wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not surrendering their bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them, which occasioned the ruin of many families.

To encourage, as much as possible, the apostacy of the Protestants, the duke published a proclamation, wherein he said, "To encourage the heretics to turn Catholics, it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby expressly command, that all such as shall embrace the holy Roman faith, shall enjoy an exemption from all and every tax for the space of five years, commencing from the day of their conversion." He likewise established a court, called the council for extirpating the heretics. This court was to enter into inquiries concerning the ancient privileges of the Protestant churches, and the decrees which had been, from time to time, made in favour of them. But the investigation was carried on with the most decided partiality.

After this, the duke published several successive edicts, prohibiting the Protestants from acting as schoolmasters or tutors; from teaching any art, science, or language; from holding any places of profit, trust, or honour: and, finally, commanding them to attend mass. This last was the sure signal for a persecution, and which, of consequence, soon followed.

One of the first objects that attracted the notice of the papists, was Mr. *Sebastian Basan*, a zealous Protestant, who was seized by the missionaries, confined, tormented fifteen months, and then committed to the flames.

Before the persecution commenced, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the children of the Protestants, that they might privately be brought up Roman Catholics; but now they took away the children by open force, and if the wretched parents resisted, they were immediately murdered.

The duke of Savoy, in order to inspirit the persecution, called a general assembly of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, whence issued a solemn edict against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating them, among which the following were the principal: for the preservation of the papal authority; that the church livings may be all under one mode of government; to make an union among all parties; in honour of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, 1655, under the sanction of the duke, by Andrew Gastaldo, doctor of civil laws. This order sets forth, "That every

head of a family, with the individuals of that family, of the reformed religion, of what rank, degree, or condition soever, none excepted, inhabiting and possessing estates in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campilione, St. Secondo, Lucernetta, La Torre, Fenile, and Bricherassio, should, within three days after the publication thereof, depart, and be withdrawn out of the said places, and translated into the places and limits tolerated by his highness during his pleasure; particularly Bobbio, Angrogno, Villaro, Rorata, and the county of Bonetti. And all this to be done on pain of death, and confiscation of house and goods, unless within the limited time they turned Roman Catholics."

The suddenness of the order affected all, and things, which would have been scarcely noticed at another time, now appeared in the most conspicuous light. Women with child, or women just lain in, were not objects of pity on this order for sudden removal, for all were included in the command; and to add to the distress, the winter was remarkably severe.

Notwithstanding this, the papists drove them from their habitations at the time appointed, without even sufficient clothes to cover them; and many perished in the mountains through the severity of the weather, or for want of food. Those who remained behind after the publication of the decree, were murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops. A particular description of these cruelties is given in a letter, written by a Protestant, who was upon the spot, and who happily escaped the carnage. "The army," says he, "having got footing, became very numerous by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring popish inhabitants, who, finding we were the destined prey of the plunderers, fell upon us with impetuous fury. Exclusive of the duke of Savoy's troops, and the Roman Catholic inhabitants, there were several regiments of French auxiliaries, some companies belonging to the Irish brigades, and several bands formed of outlaws, smugglers, and prisoners, who had been promised pardon and liberty in this world, and absolution in the next, for assisting to exterminate the Protestants from Piedmont.

"This armed multitude being encouraged by the Roman Catholic bishops and monks, fell upon the Protestants in a most furious manner. All now was horror and despair; blood stained the floors of the houses, dead bodies bestrewed the streets, and groans and cries shocked the ears of humanity from every quarter. Some armed themselves, and skirmished with the troops; and many, with their families, fled to the mountains. In one village they vented their cruelty on 150 women and children after the men were fled, beheading the women, and dashing out the brains of the children."

Peter Simonds, a Protestant, of about eighty years of age, was

tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In the fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so that he languished for several days, till he perished of hunger.

Esay Garcino, refusing to renounce his religion, the soldiers cut him into small pieces, saying, in ridicule, they had minced him. A woman, named *Armand*, had every limb separated from each other, and then the respective parts were hung upon a hedge.

There were several men, women, and children, flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Among others was *Magdalen Bertino*, a Protestant woman of La Torre, who was stripped naked, her head tied between her legs, and thrown down one of the precipices. *Mary Raymondet*, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones, till she expired. *Magdalen Pilot*, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Castolus; and *Jacob Perrin*, the elder of the church of Villaro, with *David*, his brother, were flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin, an inhabitant of La Torre, with four of his children, was apprehended; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking, at the death of every child, if he would renounce, which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled; the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he escaped to the Alps, and there remained concealed.

Giovanni Pelanchion, on refusing to abjure his oath, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, "He is possessed of the devil!" They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the river.

Peter Fontaine had a beautiful child ten years of age, named *Magdalene*, who was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to atoms.

Jacobo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other Protestants, were hung up by the means of hooks fixed to their bellies, and left to expire. *Giovanni Rostagnal*, a venerable Protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and slices cut from the fleshy parts of his body, till he bled to death.

Daniel Saleagio, and his wife, *Giovanni Durant*, *Lodwich Durant*, *Bartholomew Durant*, *Daniel Revel*, and *Paul Reynaud*, had their mouths stuffed with gunpowder, which being set fire to, their heads were blown to pieces.

Jacob Birone, a schoolmaster of Borata, for refusing to change his religion, was stripped naked; and after having been so exposed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red-hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He next had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right-hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left-hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at the same instant, "Will you go to mass? Will you go to mass?" He still replied in the negative to these interrogatories, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the balustrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

Paul Garnier, a Protestant, beloved for his piety, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced the courage arising from a confidence in God.

Daniel Cardon, of Rocappiata, being apprehended by some soldiers, they cut off his head. Two poor old blind women, of St. Giovanni, were burnt alive; and a widow of La Torre, with her daughter, was driven into the river, and stoned to death there.

A man named *Paul Giles*, on attempting to run away from some soldiers, was shot in the neck; they then slit his nose, sliced his chin, stabbed him, and then gave his carcase to the dogs.

Some of the Irish troops having taken eleven men of Garcigliana prisoners, they heated a furnace red hot, and forced them to push each other in till they came to the last man, whom they themselves pushed in.

Michael Gonet, a man about 90 years old, was burnt to death; *Baptista Oudri*, another old man, was stabbed: and *Bartholomew Frasche* had his heels pierced, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the goal, where, in consequence of his wound mortifying, he soon died.

Magdalene de la Peire being pursued by some of the soldiers,

and taken, was cast down a precipice, and dashed to pieces. *Margaret Revella* and *Mary Pravillerin*, two very old women, were burnt alive; *Michael Bel'ino*, with *Ann Bochardno*, were beheaded: *Joseph Chairet* and *Paul Carniero* were flayed alive.

Cypriania Bustia being asked, "if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman Catholic," he replied, "I would rather renounce life, or turn dog:" to which a priest answered, "for that expression you shall both renounce life, and be given to the dogs." They, accordingly, dragged him to prison, where they confined him till he perished of hunger, after which they threw his corpse into the street before the prison.

Joseph Pont was severed in two; *Margaret Soretta* was stoned to death; and *Antonio Bertina* had his head cleft asunder.

Daniel Maria, and all his family, being ill of a fever, several papist ruffians broke into his house, telling him they were practical physicians, and would give them all present ease; which they did, by murdering the whole family.

Three infant children, of a Protestant, named *Peter Fine*, were buried in the snow; and an elderly widow, named *Judith*, was beheaded.

Lucy, the wife of Peter Besson, who lived in one of the villages of the Piedmontese vallies, being in an advanced state of pregnancy, determined, if possible, to escape from such dreadful scenes as every where surrounded her: she accordingly took two young children, one in each hand, and set off towards the Alps. But on the third day of the journey she was taken in labour among the mountains, and delivered of an infant, who perished through the inclemency of the weather, as did the other two children; for all three were found dead by her side, and herself just expiring, by the person to whom she related the above circumstances.

The Sieur *Thomas Margher* fled to a cave, where being discovered, the soldiers shut up the mouth, and he perished with famine. *Judith Revelin*, with seven children, were barbarously murdered in their beds.

Jacob Roseno was commanded to pray to the saints, which he refusing, the soldiers beat him violently with bludgeons to make him comply, but he still steady to his faith, they fired at him, and lodged a great many balls in his body. While in the agonies of death, they cried to him, "Will you pray to the saints?" To which he answered, "No!" when one of the soldiers, with a broad sword, clove his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings.

A young woman, named *Susanna Ciacquin*, being attempted to be ravished by a soldier, she made a stout resistance, and in the struggle, pushed him over a precipice, when he was dashed

to pieces by the fall. His comrades immediately fell upon her with their swords, and cut her to atoms.

Giovanni Pullius, being apprehended as a Protestant by the soldiers, was ordered by the marquis of Pianesa to be executed in a place near the convent. When brought to the gallows, several monks attended, to persuade him to renounce his religion. But he told them, he never would embrace idolatry, and that he was happy in being thought worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. They then represented to him what his wife and children, who depended upon his labour, would suffer after his decease: to which he replied, "I would have my wife and children, as well as myself, to consider their souls more than their bodies, and the next world before this; and with respect to the distress I may leave them in, God is merciful, and will provide for them while they are worthy of his protection." Finding the inflexibility of this poor man, the monks commanded the executioner to perform his office, which he did, and so launched the martyr into the world of glory.

Paul Clement, an elder of the church of Rossana, being apprehended by the monks of a neighbouring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some Protestants had just been executed. On beholding the dead bodies, he said calmly, "You may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the soul of a true believer: with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here shewn me, you may rest assured, that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of those poor people, and punish them for the innocent blood they have spilt." The monks were so exasperated at this reply, that they ordered him to be hung up directly; and while he was hanging, the soldiers amused themselves by shooting at the body.

Daniel Rambaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was seized, and, with several others, committed to the goal of Paysana. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, strove to persuade him to turn papist: but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, pretended to pity his numerous family, and told him, that he might yet have his life, if he would subscribe to the belief of the following articles:

1. The real presence in the host. 2. Transubstantiation. 3. Purgatory. 4. The pope's infallibility. 5. That masses said for the dead will release souls from purgatory. 6. That praying to saints will procure the remission of sins.

To these proposals Rambaut replied, "That neither his religion, his understanding, nor his conscience would suffer him to subscribe to any of these articles; for," said he, "1. To believe

the real presence in the host, is a shocking union of blasphemy and idolatry. 2. To fancy the words of consecration perform what the papists call transubstantiation, by converting the wafer and wine into the identical body and blood of Christ, which was crucified, and which afterwards ascended into heaven, is too gross an absurdity for even a child to believe; and nothing but the most blind superstition could make the Roman Catholics put a confidence in any thing so ridiculous. 3. The doctrine of purgatory is more inconsistent and absurd than a fairy tale. 4. The infallibility of the popes is an impossibility, and the pope arrogantly lays claim to what can belong to God only, as a perfect being. 5. Saying masses for the dead is ridiculous, and only meant to keep up a belief in the fable of purgatory, as the fate of all is finally decided in the departure of the soul from the body. And, 6. Praying to saints for the remission of sins, is misplacing adoration, as the saints themselves have occasion for an intercessor in Christ; therefore, as God only can pardon our errors, we ought to sue to him alone for pardon."

Filled with rage at these answers, the priests determined to shake his resolutions by the most cruel method imaginable: they ordered one joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off, daily, a hand and a foot; and finding that he bore his sufferings with the most unconquerable fortitude, and maintained his faith with steadfast resolution, they stabbed him to the heart.

Peter Gabriola, a Protestant gentleman of considerable eminence, being seized by a troop of soldiers, and refusing to renounce his religion, they hung several bags of gunpowder about his body, and then, setting fire to them, blew him up.

Anthony, the son of Samuel Catieris, a poor dumb lad, and extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of *Peter Moniriat*, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, they being unable to assist each other in that melancholy plight.

Mary Pelanchion, a handsome widow, of the town of Villaro, was seized by a party of the Irish brigade, who, having beat her cruelly, and ravished her, dragged her to a high bridge which crossed the river, and, stripping her naked, hung her by the legs to the bridge, with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats, they shot her.

Susanna Calvio, running away from some soldiers, and hiding herself in a barn, they set fire to the straw, by which she was burnt to death.

A Protestant lady, named *Constantia Bellione*, was appre-

hended on account of her faith, and asked by a priest if she would renounce the devil and go to mass; to which she replied, "I was brought up in a religion by which I was always taught to renounce the devil; but should I comply with your desire, and go to mass, I should be sure to meet him there in a variety of shapes." The priest was highly incensed at this, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelly. She, however, boldly answered, "That she valued not any sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of all the torments he could invent, she would keep her faith inviolate." The priest then ordered slices of her flesh to be cut off from several parts of her body. This she bore with the most singular patience, only saying to the priest, "What horrid and lasting torments will you suffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure!" Exasperated at this expression, and willing to stop her tongue, the priest ordered a file of musketeers to draw up and fire upon her, by which she was soon despatched.

Judith Mandon, a young woman, for the same offence, was fastened to a stake, and sticks thrown at her from a distance, in imitation of that barbarous custom practised on Shrove-Tuesday of shying at cocks, as it was termed. By this inhuman proceeding, her limbs were beat and mangled in a most terrible manner. At last one of the bludgeons striking her head, she was at once freed from her pains and her life.

Paul Genre and *David Paglia*, each with his son, attempting to escape to the Alps, were pursued and overtaken by the soldiers in a large plain. Here they hunted them for their diversion, goading them with their swords, and making them run about till they dropped down with fatigue. When they found that their spirits were quite exhausted, and that they could not afford them any more barbarous sport by running, the soldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled bodies on the spot.

Michael Greve, a young man of Bobbio, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown over into the river. Being, however, an expert swimmer, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape; but the soldiers and mob followed on both sides the river, and kept stoning him, till, receiving a blow on one of his temples, he sunk and was drowned.

David Armand was forced to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. *David Baridona* was apprehended at Villaro, and carried to La Torre, where, refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by brimstone matches being tied between his fingers and toes, and set fire, and afterwards, by having his flesh plucked off with red hot pincers, till he expired. Also *Giovanni Baro-*

lina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitch-forks and stones, to duck down their heads till they were suffocated with the stench.

A number of soldiers assaulted the house of *Joseph Garniero*, and before they entered, fired in at the window, to give notice of their approach. Mrs. Garniero was at that instant suckling her child, and one of the balls entered her breast. On finding their intentions, she begged them to spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman Catholic nurse. They then seized the husband and hanged him at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, left her body weltering in its blood.

Isaiah Mandon, a pious Protestant, in the wane of life, fled from the merciless persecutors to a cleft in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships; for, in the midst of the winter, he was forced to lie on the bare stone, without any covering; his food was the roots he could scratch up near his miserable habitation; and the only way by which he could procure drink, was to put snow in his mouth till it melted. Here, however, some of the soldiers found him, and after beating him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him all the way with the points of their swords. Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and exhausted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him to make him proceed; till, on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his misery. This they at last, agreed to do; and one of them shot him through the head, saying, "There, heretic, take thy request."

Mary Revel, a Protestant, received a shot in her back, while walking along the street, which brought her to the ground, but recovering sufficient strength, she raised herself upon her knees, and lifting her hands towards heaven, prayed in a most fervent manner to the Almighty; when a number of soldiers, near at hand, fired a whole volley of shot at her, and in an instant put an end to her miseries.

To screen themselves from danger, a number of men, women, and children, fled to a large cave, where they continued for some weeks in safety, two of the men going, when it was necessary, and by stealth, to procure provisions. These were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was discovered, and, soon after, a troop of Roman Catholics appeared before it. Many of these were neighbours and intimate acquaintances, and some even relations to those in the cave. The Protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality, and by the ties of blood and neighbourhood, not to murder them. But the papists, blinded by bigotry, told them, they could not shew

any mercy to heretics, and, therefore, bade them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the obduracy of their enemies, the Protestants fell prostrate, lifted their hearts to heaven, and patiently awaited their fate, which the papists soon decided, by cutting them to pieces.

Giovanni Salvagiot, passing by a Roman Catholic church, and not taking off his hat, was followed by some of the congregation, who fell upon and murdered him; and *Jacob Barrel* and his wife, having been taken prisoners by the earl of St. Secondo, an officer of the duke of Savoy, he delivered them up to the soldiery, who cut off the woman's breasts, and the man's nose; and then shot both dead.

The blood of the faithful being almost exhausted in all the towns and villages of Piedmont, there remained but one place that had stood aloof from the general slaughter. This was the little commonalty of Roras, which stood upon an eminence. Of this, did the earl of Christophe, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, determine, if possible, to make himself master; with that view, he detached three hundred men to surprise it.

The inhabitants, however, had intelligence of the approach of these troops, and captain Joshua Gianavel, a brave Protestant officer, put himself at the head of a small body of the citizens, and waited in ambuscade, to attack the enemy in a narrow passage, the only place by which the town could be approached.

As soon as the troops appeared, and had entered the passage, the Protestants commenced a smart and well-directed fire against them, and still kept themselves concealed behind bushes from the sight of the enemy. A great number of the soldiers were killed, and the rest, receiving a continual fire, and not seeing any to whom they might return it, made a precipitate retreat.

The members of this little community immediately sent a memorial to the marquis of Pianessa, a general officer of the duke's, stating, "That they were sorry to be under the necessity of taking up arms; but that the secret approach of a body of troops, without any previous notice sent of the purpose of their coming, had greatly alarmed them; that as it was their custom never to suffer any of the military to enter their little community, they had repelled force by force, and should do so again; but in all other respects, they professed themselves dutiful, obedient, and loyal subjects to their sovereign, the duke of Savoy.'

The marquis, in order to delude and surprise the Protestants of Roras, sent them word, "That he was perfectly satisfied with their behaviour, for they had done right, and even rendered a service to their country, as the men who had attempted to pass the defile were not his troops, but a band of desperate robbers, who had, for some time, infested those parts, and been a terror

to the neighbouring country." To give a greater colour to his treachery, he published a proclamation to the same purpose, expressive of thanks to the citizens of Roras.

The very day after, however, the marquis sent 500 men to possess themselves of the town, while the people, as he thought, were lulled into security by his artifice.

Captain Gianavel, however, was not thus to be deceived; he, therefore, laid a second ambuscade for these troops, and compelled them to retire with a proportionate loss.

Foiled in these two attempts, the sanguinary marquis determined on a third, which should be still more formidable; but, still to delude the brave citizens, he published another proclamation, disowning any knowledge of the second attempt.

He soon after sent 700 chosen men upon the expedition, who, in spite of the fire from the Protestants, forced the defile, entered Roras, and began to murder every person they met with, without distinction of sex or age. Captain Gianavel, at the head of his friends, though he had lost the defile, determined to dispute the passage through a fortified pass, that led to the richest and best part of the town. Here he succeeded, by keeping up a continual fire, which did great execution, his men being all complete marksmen. The Roman Catholic commander was astonished and dismayed at this opposition, as he imagined that he had surmounted all difficulties. He, however, strove to force the pass, but being able to bring up only twelve men in front at a time, and the Protestants being secured by a breast-work, he saw all his hopes frustrated.

Enraged at the loss of so many of his troops, and fearful of disgrace if he persisted in attempting what appeared so impracticable, he thought it wiser to retreat. Unwilling, however, to withdraw his men by the defile at which he had entered, on account of the danger, he designed to retreat towards Villaro, by another pass called Piampra, which, though hard of access, was easy of descent. Here, however, he again felt the determined bravery of captain Gianavel, who, having posted his little band here, greatly annoyed the troops as they passed, and even pursued their rear till they entered the open country.

The marquis Pianessa, finding all these attempts baffled, and that every artifice he used was only a signal to the inhabitants of Roras, resolved to act openly; and therefore proclaimed, that ample rewards should be given to any who would bear arms against the obdurate heretics of Roras, and that any officer who would exterminate them, should be honoured accordingly.

Captain Mario, a bigotted Roman Catholic, and a desperate ruffian, stimulated by this, resolved to undertake the enterprise. He, therefore, obtained leave to raise a regiment in the towns of

Lucerne, Borges, Famolas, Bobbio, Cavos, and Bagnal. In these places he levied a regiment of 1000 men. With these he resolved to attempt gaining the summit of a rock, from whence he could pour his men into the town, without much opposition or difficulty. But the Protestants, aware of his design, suffered his troops to gain almost the summit of the rock, without appearing in their sight: when they made a most furious attack upon them; one party keeping up a well-directed and constant fire, and another party rolling down stones of a great weight. Thus were they suddenly stopped in their career. Many were killed by the musquetry, and more by the stones, which beat them down the precipices. Several fell sacrifices to their own fears, for by attempting a precipitate retreat, they fell down, and were dashed to pieces; and captain Mario himself, having fallen from a craggy place into a river at the foot of the rock, was taken up senseless, and remained ill of the bruises a long time; and, at length, fell into a decline at Lucerne, where he died.

After this another body of troops from the camp at Villaro, made an attempt upon Roras; but were likewise defeated, and compelled to retreat again to their camp.

Captain Gianavel, for each of these signal victories, made a suitable discourse to his men, kneeling down with them to return thanks to the Almighty for his providential protection; and concluded with the 11th psalm.

The marquis of Pianessa, now enraged to the highest degree at being thus foiled by such a handful of men, determined on their expulsion, or destruction.

To this end, he ordered all the Roman Catholic militia of Piedmont to be called out and disciplined. To these he joined eight thousand regular troops. and dividing the whole into three distinct bodies; he planned three formidable attacks to be made at once, unless the people of Roras, to whom he sent an account of his great preparations, would comply with the following conditions:

To ask pardon for taking up arms. To pay the expenses of all the expeditions sent against them. To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope. To go to mass. To pray to the saints. To deliver up their ministers and schoolmasters. To go to confession. To pay loans for the delivery of souls from purgatory; and to give up captain Gianavel and the elders of their church at discretion.

The brave inhabitants, indignant at these proposals, answered, "That sooner than comply with them they would suffer their estates to be seized; their houses to be burnt; and themselves to be murdered."

Swelling with rage at this, the marquis sent them the following laconic letter:

"*To the obstinate Heretics inhabiting Roras.*

"You shall have your request, for the troops sent against you have strict injunctions to plunder, burn, and kill.

"PIANESSA."

The three armies were accordingly put in motion, and the attacks ordered as follows: The first by the rocks of Villaro; the second by the pass of Bagnal; and the third by the defile of Lucerne.

As might be expected, from the superiority of numbers, the troops gained the rocks, pass, and defile, entered the town, and commenced the most horrid depredations. Men they hanged, burnt, racked to death, or cut to pieces; women they crucified, drowned, or threw from the precipice; and children they tossed upon spears, cut their throats, or dashed out their brains. On the first day of their gaining the town, one hundred and twenty-six suffered in this manner.

Agreeably to the orders of the marquis, they likewise plundered the estates, and burnt the houses of the people. Several Protestants, however, made their escape, under the conduct of the brave Gianavel, whose wife and children were unfortunately made prisoners, and sent to Turin under a strong guard.

The marquis, thinking to conquer at least the mind of Gianavel, wrote him a letter, and released a Protestant prisoner, that he might carry it him. The contents were, that if the captain would embrace the Roman Catholic religion, he should be indemnified for all his losses since the commencement of the war, his wife and children should be immediately released, and himself honourably promoted in the duke of Savoy's army; but if he refused to accede to the proposals made to him, his wife and children should be put to death; and so large a reward should be given to take him, dead or alive, that even some of his own confidential friends should, from the greatness of the sum, be tempted to betray him.

To this Gianavel returned the following answer:

"*My Lord Marquis,*

"There is no torment so great, or death so cruel, that I would not prefer to the abjuration of my religion; so that promises lose their effects, and menaces only strengthen me in my faith.

"With respect to my wife and children, my lord, nothing can be more afflicting to me than the thoughts of their confinement, or be more dreadful to my imagination, than their suffering a violent death. I keenly feel all the tender sensations of a

husband and a parent; I would suffer any torment to rescue them; I would die to preserve them.

"But having said thus much, my lord, I assure you that the purchase of their lives must not be the price of my salvation. You have them in your power, it is true; but my consolation is, that your power is only a temporary authority over their bodies; you may destroy the mortal part, but their immortal souls are out of your reach, and will live hereafter to bear testimony against you for your cruelties. I therefore recommend them and myself to God, and pray for a reformation in your heart.

"JOSHUA GIANAVEL."

Gianavel now, with his followers, retired to the Alps, where, being afterwards joined by several Protestant officers, with a considerable number of futigive Protestants, they conjointly defended themselves, and made several successful attacks upon the Roman Catholic towns and forces; carrying terror by the valour of their exploits, and the boldness of their enterprises.

For fuller information on this subject see the "History of the Evangelical Churches of the Vallies of Piedmont, by *Sam. Morland*, Esq. the Protector's Commissioner Extraordinary, who bore to the afflicted remains of these Churches, the handsome contribution of money sent them" from this country, after the horrid persecution above related." Published 1658.

Account of the Persecutions of Michael de Molinos, a native of Spain.

Michael de Molinos, by birth a Spaniard, and of a rich and honourable family, entered, at an early age, into priest's orders, but would accept of no perferment in the church. His talents were of a very superior class, and he dedicated them to the service of his fellow-creatures, without ony view of self-interest. His life was uniformly pious; nor did he assume those austerities so common among the religious orders of the Romish church.

Being of a contemplative turn, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, he became desirous of propagating his mode of devotion, and, accordingly, left his own country, and settled at Rome. Here he soon connected himself with some of the most distinguished among the literati, who, approving of his religious maxims, assisted him in propagating them. His followers soon augmented to a considerable number, and, from the peculiarity of their doctrines, were distinguished by the name of Quietists.

In 1675, he published a book, entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which soon became known, and was readwith great avidity, both

in Italy and Spain. His fame was now blazed abroad, and friends flowed in upon him. Letters were written to him from numbers of people, and a correspondence was settled between him and those who approved of his method, in different parts of Europe. Some secular priests, both at Rome and Naples, declared themselves openly for it, and consulted him as a sort of oracle; but those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity, were some of the fathers of the Oratory the most eminent of whom were Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals also courted his friendship. Among others was the cardinal d'Estrees, a man of great learning, who conversed with him daily. Molinos opened his mind without reserve to the cardinal, which led to a correspondence between Molinos and some of the most distinguished characters in France, of which the cardinal was a native.

The reputation of Molinos now began to alarm the Jesuits and Dominicans, who determined to put a stop to the progress of this new method. They, therefore, began to decry the author of it; and, as heresy is an imputation that makes the strongest impression at Rome, Molinos and his followers were stigmatized as heretics. Books were also written by the Jesuits against him and his method. These Molinos answered with becoming spirit.

These disputes occasioned such a disturbance in Rome, that the affair was noticed by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci, who had written some treatises and letters on the same subject, were brought under severe examination; and the Jesuits were considered as the accusers. In the course of the examination, both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themselves so ably, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the Jesuits had written, were censured as scandalous and unbecoming.

Petrucci, on this occasion, was so highly approved, that he was soon after made Bishop of Jesis. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, their method was more followed, and the novelty of it, all contributed to raise the credit, and increase the number of the party.

Thus the great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci, occasioned a daily increase of the Quietists. All who were thought sincerely devout, or at least affected so to be, were reckoned among the number. These persons, in proportion as their zeal increased in their mental devotions, appeared less careful as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so assiduous at mass, nor so earnest to procure them to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequently either in processions or at confession.

Notwithstanding the approbation expressed for Molinos's book

by the inquisition, had checked the open hostility of his enemies, they were still inveterate against him in their hearts, and determined, if possible, to ruin him. They therefore secretly insinuated that he had ill designs, and was an enemy to Christianity; that under pretence of raising men to a sublime strain of devotion, he intended to erase from their minds a sense of the mysteries of religion. And, because he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was descended from a Jewish or Mahometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his first education, some seeds of those doctrines he had since cultivated, with no less art than zeal.

Molinos, finding himself attacked with such unrelenting malice, took every necessary precaution to prevent its effect upon the public mind. He wrote a treatise, entitled, "Frequent and Daily Communion," which was likewise approved by some of the most learned of the Romish clergy. This, with his "Spiritual Guide," was printed in the year 1675, and in the preface to it he declared, that he had not written it with any design to engage in matters of controversy, but by the earnest solicitations of many pious people.

The Jesuits, having again failed in their attempts of crushing his influence at Rome, applied to the court of France, when they so far succeeded, that an order was sent to cardinal d'Estrees, commanding him to prosecute Molinos with all possible rigour. The cardinal, notwithstanding his attachment to Molinos, resolved to sacrifice friendship to interest. Finding, however, there was not sufficient matter for an accusation against him, he determined to supply that defect himself. He therefore went to the inquisitors, and informed them of several particulars, relative both to Molinos and Petrucci, who, with several of their friends, were put into the inquisition.

On being brought before the inquisitors, (which was in the beginning of the year 1684,) Petrucci answered the respective questions put to him, with so much judgment and temper, that he was soon dismissed: but with regard to Molinos, though the inquisitors had not any just accusation against him, yet they strained every nerve to find him guilty of heresy. They first objected to his holding a correspondence in different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correspondence could not be made criminal. They then directed their attention to some suspicious papers found in his chamber; but he so clearly explained their meaning, that nothing could be made of them to his prejudice. At length, cardinal d'Estrees, after producing the order sent him by the king of France for prosecuting Molinos, said, he could convince the court of his heresy. He then proceeded to pervert the meaning of some pas-

sages in Molinos's books and papers, and related many false and aggravating circumstances relative to the prisoner. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendship, but that it was only to discover his principles and intentions; that he had found them to be of a bad nature, and that dangerous consequences were likely to ensue; but in order to make a full discovery, he had assented to several things, which, in his heart, he detested; and that, by these means, he became master of all his secrets.

In consequence of this evidence, Molinos was closely confined in the inquisition, where he continued for some time, during which period all was quiet, and his followers prosecuted their mode without interruption. But at the instigation of the Jesuits, a storm suddenly broke out upon them with the most inveterate fury.

The count Vespiniani and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, confessor to the prince Borghese, and some of his family, with several others, to the amount of seventy persons, among whom many were highly esteemed both for their learning and piety, were put into the inquisition. The accusation laid against the clergy was, their neglecting to say the breviary; the rest were accused of going to communion without first attending confession, and neglecting all the exterior parts of religion.

The countess Vespiniani, on her examination before the inquisitors, said, that she had never revealed her method of devotion to any mortal but her confessor, without whose treachery it was impossible they should know it. That, therefore, it was time to give over going to confession, if priests thus abused it, betraying the most secret thoughts intrusted to them; and that, for the future, she would only make her confession to God.

From this spirited speech, and the great noise made in consequence of the countess's situation, the inquisitors thought it most prudent to dismiss both her and her husband, lest the people might be incensed, and what she said might lessen the credit of confession. They were, therefore, both discharged: but bound to appear whenever they should be called upon.

Such was the inveteracy of the Jesuits against the Quietists, that within the space of a month, upwards of 200 persons, besides those already mentioned, were put into the inquisition; and that method of devotion, which had passed in Italy as the most elevated to which mortals could aspire, was deemed heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined in a wretched dungeon. Hence, to extirpate Quietism, the inquisitors sent a circular letter to Cardinal Cibo, as the chief minister, to disperse it through Italy. It was addressed to all prelates, informing them, that whereas many schools and fraternities were established in

several parts of Italy, in which some persons, under a pretence of leading people into the ways of the Spirit, and to the prayer of quietness, instilled into them many abominable heresies; therefore a strict charge was given to dissolve all those societies, and to oblige the spiritual guide to tread in the known paths; and, in particular, to take care none of that sort should be suffered to have the direction of the nunneries. Orders were likewise given, to proceed, in the way of justice, against those who should be found guilty of these abominable errors.

A strict inquiry was made after this into all the nunneries in Rome; when most of their directors and confessors were discovered to be engaged in this new method. It was found that the Carmelites, the nuns of the Conception, and those of several other convents, wholly devoted themselves to prayer and contemplation; and that, instead of their beads, and the other devotions to saints or images, they were much alone, and often in the exercise of mental prayer; that when they were asked, why they had laid aside the use of their beads, and their ancient forms, their answer was, their directors had advised them so to do. Information of this being given to the inquisition, they sent orders that all books written in the same strain with those of Molinos and Petrucci, should be taken from them, and that they should be compelled to return to their original form of worship.

Little effect was produced by the circular letter sent to cardinal Cibo, for most of the Italian bishops were inclined to Molinos's method. It was intended that this, as well as other orders from the inquisitors, should be kept secret; but notwithstanding all their care, copies of it were printed, and dispersed in most of the principal towns in Italy. This gave great uneasiness to the inquisitors, who use every method they can to conceal their proceedings from the knowledge of the world. They blamed the cardinal, and accused him of being the cause of it; but he retorted on them, and his secretary laid the fault on both.

In the mean time, Molinos suffered great indignities from the officers of the inquisition; and the only comfort he received was, from being sometimes visited by father Petrucci. Yet although he had lived in the highest reputation in Rome for some years, he was now as much despised as he had been admired; being generally considered as one of the worst of heretics. Most of Molinos's followers, who had been placed in the inquisition, having abjured his mode, were dismissed; but a harder fate awaited their leader. When he had lain a considerable time in prison, he was brought again before the inquisitors, to answer to a number of articles exhibited against him from his writings. As soon as he appeared in court, a chain was put round his body,

and a wax-light in his hand, when two friars read aloud the articles of accusation. Molinos answered each with great steadiness and resolution; and notwithstanding his arguments totally defeated the force of all, yet he was found guilty of heresy, and was condemned to imprisonment for life.

Having left the court, he was attended by a priest, who had borne him the greatest respect. On his arrival at the prison, he entered the cell with great tranquillity; and on taking leave of the priest, thus addressed him: "Adieu, father, we shall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on my side, or on your's."

While in confinement, he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner; till, at length, the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength and his existence.

Franciscus san Romanus, in the year 1540, was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Bremen, to take up money to be paid by some merchants there; where, hearing Jacobus, prior of the Austin friars of Antwerp, preach, he was so touched through the powerful working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, though he had no perfect understanding of the Dutch tongue, that not only he understood all that was there said, but coming to the preacher, and accompanying him home, there recited the contents of his sermon. After this little taste, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, searching for, and conferring with learned men; that in a short space, he was grown to a ripe knowledge in the word of life. The minister, marvelling at the sudden change of the man, and seeing the vehemence of his zeal, began to exhort him how to temper himself with circumspection and discretion, still more and more instructing him in the word and knowledge of the gospel; which he so greedily received, as one that could never be satisfied. He remained with the minister three days together, committing his worldly business to his friend who came with him. Thus, being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for temporal trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch books as he could get to read; which he read so diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, and partly by means of Jacobus and Macchabeus, who was there at the same time, he was able, in a short time, to judge in the chief articles of our religion; insomuch, that he took upon him to write letters to his countrymen, the merchants of Antwerp. In which, first, he gave thanks to God for the knowledge of his holy word which he had received: secondly, he bewailed the great cruelty and gross blindness of his countrymen, desiring God to open their eyes and ears, to see and understand the word of their salvation: thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them to Antwerp, to confer with

them touching the grace of God which he had received: fourthly, declared to them his purpose in going also to Spain, intending there likewise to impart to his parents and other friends at Burges, the wholesome doctrine which the Lord had bestowed upon him.

Besides this, he addressed other letters also to Charles the emperor, opening to him the calamitous and miserable state of Christ's church; desiring him to tender the quietness thereof, especially that he would reform the miserable corruption of the church of Spain, &c. Over and besides all this, he wrote there a catechism, and divers other treatises in the Spanish tongue. And all this he did in one month's space!

In the mean time, the Spanish merchants of Antwerp, understanding by his letters both his change of religion, and his purpose of coming to Antwerp, sent him letters again, pretending outwardly much good will, but secretly practising his destruction. For at the day appointed of his coming, certain friars were set ready to receive him, which took him coming down from his horse, rifled his books, had him into a merchant's house near hand, where they examined him, with whom he again disputed mightily. And when they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran; and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn himself also. At this disputation in the house, several Spaniards were present, which made the friars more bold. Being demanded to shew of what faith and religion he was: My faith, said he, is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true faith of the universal church of Christ; but this faith and doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety have brought the most part of the world into most miserable blindness. And to explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the creed.

Then the friars asked, Whether he believed the bishop of Rome to be Christ's vicar, and head of the church, having all the treasures of the church in his own power, being able to bind and loose; also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his will, &c.? Hereunto Francis answered again, That he believed none of all this; but contrary did affirm, that the pope was Antichrist, born of the devil, being the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honour; and which, moreover, being incited by the devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the sincerity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretences beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying, the poor flock of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he uttered his mind likewise against the mass and purgatory.

The friars could suffer him to speak till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit; then they could abide no longer, but thundered against him words full of cruelty and terror. As they were burning his books, and began also to cast the New Testament into the fire, Francis seeing that, began to thunder out against them. The Spaniards, then, supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him into a tower, six miles distant from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep dungeon, with much misery, during the space of eight months. In the time of his imprisonment, many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis answered again, that he maintained no opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the friars, that was not to be ascribed to him, so much as to their own importunity; hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Whereupon the Spaniards, thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of the prison; which was about the time when the emperor was in his council of Ratisbon, in 1541.

San Romanus being thus freed out of prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to Louvain, to a friend of his, named Franciscus Dryander, (who also afterward died a martyr,) with whom he had much conference about religion; who advised him not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state he might exercise with a safe conscience, and do much good. And as to religion, his counsel was, that he should say or do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but that he be conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might occur to him as it doth to many, who, being carried away with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their vocations, and while they think to do good and to edify, they destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger. It is God, said he, that hath the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for the same; neither doth he care for such, who rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling.

This advice of Dryander, Francis willingly accepted, promising hereafter to moderate himself more considerately; but this promise was shortly broken; for leaving Dryander, he went to Ratisbon, and there having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, declaring that the princes and Protestants of Germany were in the true path, and that the religion of Spain, being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly dissonant from the perfect

word of God; with many other words to the same effect. The emperor all this while gave him a gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider the matter, and so do therein as he trusted should be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor gave him no little encouragement; and although he might perceive there in the city many examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged him not; but he went the second, and also the third time, to the emperor, who quietly answered him as before. And yet Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought the fourth time to speak to the emperor; but he was repulsed by certain of the Spaniards about the emperor, who, without further hearing, would have thrown him headlong into the Danube, had not the emperor prevented them, and wished him to be judged by the laws of the empire. By which command of the emperor he was reserved, and detained with other malefactors in bands, till the emperor took his voyage into Africa.

Then Francis, with other captives, following the court, after the emperor was come into Spain, was there delivered to the inquisitors, by whom he was laid in a dark prison under the ground. Many times he was called for to examination, where he suffered great injuries and contumelies; but ever remained in his conscience firm and unmoveable. The articles which he maintained, and for which he was condemned, were these:

"That life and salvation in the sight of God come to no man in his own strength, works, or merits, but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

"That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists do account available for the remission of sins, both to the quick and to the dead, is horrible blasphemy.

"That auricular confession, with numbering up of sins, that satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, and worshipping of images, are mere blasphemy against the living God.

"*Item*, That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in the same aforesaid."

After the inquisitors perceived, that by no means he could be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded to the sentence, condemning him to be burned for an heretic. Many other malefactors were brought also with him to the place of execution; but they were all pardoned and dismissed; he only was taken and burned.

As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a mitre of paper, painted full of devils, after the Spanish guise. As he was brought out of the city gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way, whereunto Francis was required to do homage; which he refused, answering, that the manner of Christians is not to worship wood, and that he was, he said, a

Christian. Hereupon arose great clamour among the vulgar people, for that he denied to worship the wooden cross. But this was turned into a miracle; such was the blindness of that people, that they imputed this to the divine virtue, as given to the cross from heaven, for that it would not suffer itself to be worshipped by a heretic: and immediately, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude hewed it in pieces, every man thinking himself happy that might carry away some chip or fragment of the said cross.

When he was come to the place where he was to suffer, the friars were busy about him to have him recant; but he continued firm.—As he was laid upon the heap of wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling of the fire to lift up his hand toward heaven; which when the inquisitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing of this in him, his adversaries threw him in again, and so he was immediately dispatched.

After the martyrdom of this blessed man, the inquisitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in hell, and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were heretics whosoever doubted of his damnation. Nevertheless, some of the emperor's soldiers gathered his ashes, and the English ambassador procured a portion of his bones to be brought to him, knowing that he died a martyr.—Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the ears of the inquisitors, and of the emperor; and the soldiers were committed to prison. Neither did the ambassador himself escape clear from the danger of the pope's scourge; for he was sequestered from the court, and commanded to be absent for a season.

Another Protestant, about the year 1559, came from Geneva to Sicily, zealous to do good, was at last laid hand on; and being condemned to the fire, was offered by the hangman to be strangled, having the cord ready about his neck; but he refused the same, and said, that he would feel the fire. And so firm was he, singing with all his might unto the Lord, that he was bereaved both of speech and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant soldier of Christ.

N. Encenas, or *Dryander*, a Spaniard, born at Bruges, was instructer in the knowledge of religion to Diazius, a godly martyr. He was sent by his superstitious parents, being young, to Rome; who there, being instructed by the Lord in the truth of his word, after he was known to dislike the pope's doctrine, and the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended and taken by his own countrymen, and some of his own household, at Rome, at the

time when he was preparing to take his journey to his brother, Francis Encenas, in Germany.

Thus, being betrayed and taken, he was brought before the cardinals, and committed to close prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine, which he, in the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, boldly and constantly defended. So that not only the cardinals, but especially the Spaniards being therewith offended, cried out that he should be burned. The cardinals first, before the sentence of death was given, came to him, and offered the badge of reconciliation, which hath the name of Sanbenit's Cloth, made in the form of a mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the red cross. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, refused to receive any other condition or badge, but only the badge of the Lord, which was to seal the doctrine of his religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the faithful servant and witness of Christ was condemned to the fire; where he, in the sight of the cardinals, and in the face of the pretended apostolic see, gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.

Franciscus Encenas, his brother, a man of learning, in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered to the emperor Charles V. the New Testament of Christ, translated into Spanish. For which he was cast into prison, where he remained fifteen months, looking for death. At last, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, the first day of February, 1545, at eight of the clock after supper, he found the doors of the prison standing open, and he secretly was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himself; and he escaped from thence, and went straight to Germany.

Faninus, born in Faventia, in Italy, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue, having no perfect skill in the Latin, was converted from great blindness to the knowledge of Christ; wherein he took such delight, that he was able in a short time to instruct others. Neither was there any delay in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord; being persuaded in his mind that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge of his truth, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle under a bushel; and, therefore, being occupied diligently in that behalf, although he used not publickly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length, by the pope's clients apprehended and committed to prison. He remained not long in prison; for by the earnest persuasions and prayers of his wife, his children, and other friends, he was so overcome, that he relapsed, and so was dismissed shortly out of prison.

After this it was not long before he fell into horrible perturbation of mind, insomuch, that unless the great mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for departing from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred before the service of Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind to adventure his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

Being thus enflamed with zeal of spirit, he went about all the country of Romania, publickly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, with great fruit and effect in many places.

As he was thus labouring, he was apprehended again, in 1547, in a place called Bagnacavalio, where he was condemned to be burned. But he said his hour was not yet come, and that this was but the beginning of his doctrine. And so it was: for shortly after he was removed unto Ferrara, where he was detained two years.—At last the inquisitors condemned him to death, in 1549: and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of September, 1550. In the mean time, many faithful and good men came to visit him; for which the pope commanded him to be kept in closer custody; wherein he suffered great torments for eighteen months; and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominican friars might have got him in their house, as they wished. Thus Faninus removed from prison to prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

At length he was brought into a prison, where divers great lords, captains, and noble personages, were committed for stirring up commotions and factions (as Italy is full of such;) who at first hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him; supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain; and such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his judgment till the matter were decided in the general council. To whom Faninus, first giving them thanks for their friendly good will, modestly and quietly declared, that the doctrine which he professed was no humour nor opinion of man's brain, but the pure truth of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ; which truth he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying fancies of men. And as in his soul, which was redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage, so likewise, as touching councils, he looked for no other sentence nor authority, he said, but that only which he knew to be de-

clared to us by Christ Jesus in his gospel, which he preached, and confirmed with his blood, &c. With these and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they altered unto a new kind of life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and esteeming him an holy person. He continued still to preach the word of God, declaring himself to be a sinner; but by the faith of the Lord Jesus, and through the grace only of him, he was well assured his sins were forgiven: like as all their sins also shall be remitted to them through their faith only in Christ, they believing his gospel.

There were others besides these, who, having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not abide the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort by the said Faninus, that not only they were contented, but also rejoiced in their captivity, by which they had obtained a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the imprisonment of Faninus was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him, to move him to consider his poor family. To whom he answered, that his Lord and Master had commanded him not to deny him for looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that he had once, for their sakes, fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more therein; for his end, he said, he knew to draw near; and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time died pope Paul III. and after him succeeded Julius III. who then sent letters that Faninus should be executed. Whereof when one of the magistrate's officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced, and gave the messenger thanks, and began to preach a long sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity of the life to come. Then the messenger told him, that in case he would change his opinion, he should both save his life and enjoy that to come. Another asked him, in what case he should leave his children and his wife? desiring him to have respect both to himself and to them. —Faninus answered, that he had left them with an overseer, who would see to them sufficiently. And being asked, who he was? The Lord Jesus Christ, said he; a faithful keeper of all that is committed to him.

After the messenger was departed from Faninus, full of tears and sorrow, the next day he was removed into the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. But in all his ways, his words, his gestures, and countenance, he declared such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners, and tranquillity of mind, that they which before were incensed against him, thinking him rather to be a devil, began now favourably to

hearken to him, and to commend him.—With such grace and sweetness he talked, ever speaking of the word of God, that divers of the magistrates' wives in hearing him could not abstain from weeping; the executioner also wept himself. One of the public scribes then came to him, and said, that if he would relent from his opinion, the pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved. But that he refused. It was marvellous, that he having but small skill in the latin, yet recited so many places of the Scripture without book, and that so truly and promptly, as though he had studied nothing else. One seeing him so cheerful going to his death, asked, Why he was so merry at his death, seeing Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? Christ, said he, sustained in his body all the sorrows and conflicts with hell and death due to us; by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all. Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth to the stake; where, with a cord drawn about his neck, he was secretly strangled by the hangman, in the city of Ferrara, three hours before day, to the intent the people should not see him, nor hear him speak; and after that, about dinner-time, his body was burned.

The same year that Faninus suffered in Ferrara, *Dominicus* also suffered in the city of Placentia. He was a citizen in Basana, and followed the wars of Charles the emperor, in Germany; where he received the first taste of Christ's gospel: wherein he increased more and more, by conferring and reasoning with learned men, so that in a short time he was able to instruct many; which he did, working and travelling in the church, till at length, in the year 1550, he coming to the city of Naples, there preached the word, and from thence proceeded to Placentia, preaching there likewise unto the people of true confession, of purgatory, and of pardons. On the next day, he treated of true faith and good works, how far they are necessary to salvation, promising the next day to speak of Antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the market place, and delivered him to the officers. Dominicus was willing and ready to obey the command, saying, that he much marvelled that the devil could suffer him so long in that kind of exercise. From thence he was led to the bishop's chancellor, and asked whether he was a priest, and how he was placed in that function? He answered, that he was no priest of the pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, that he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his blood; and also gave

hearty thanks to God, who so accepted him as worthy to glorify his name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison, where, after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted often to revoke; otherwise he should suffer. But still he remained firm in his doctrine. He was accordingly brought to the market place where he preached, and there was hanged, most heartily praying for his enemies.

Santangelo is a certain fortress or castle in Italy, in Lombardy, not far from the city called Laus Pompeia, belonging also to the same diocese. In this fort was an house of Augustine friars, to which used much to resort a friar of the same order, of Pania, named Maianardus, a man expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation; by whose means not only some of the friars, but also of other townsmen, were brought to the love and knowledge of God's word, and to the detestation of the pope's abuses. Among whom was *Galeazius Trecius*, a gentleman of wealth, and very kind to the poor; who by conference with the friars, and with his brother in law, began to conceive some light in God's truth, and afterwards was confirmed more by Cælius Secundus Curio, who then being driven by persecution, came from Pavia to Santangelo. As this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal, as a light shining in darkness, he could not be hid; but at last, in the year 1551, persons were sent from Laus Pompeia, to lay hands upon him: and brought him to the bishop's palace, where he was kept in bonds, having under him only a pad of straw; although his wife sent him a good feather bed, with sheets, yet the bishop's chaplains and officers kept it from him, dividing the prey among themselves.

He was thrice brought before the commissioners, where he gave reasons of his faith, answering their interrogatories with such evidence of Scripture, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Not long after, through the persuasions of his kinsfolks and friends, he was brought to assent to certain points of the pope's doctrine. But the mercy of God, brought him again to such repentance, that he became afterward (according to the example of Peter, St. Cyprian, and others) more valiant in defence of Christ; neither did he ever desire any thing more than occasion to recover again, by confession, that which he had lost before by denial; affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the confession of the truth; and that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he departed from the same by dissimulation. Declaring to his brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with the testimony of a good conscience, than life with the denial of truth, and the loss of it.

While Galeazius was in prison, the inquisitors and priests repaired to him, supposing that he would confirm what he had granted them, and required him so to do. But he, denying all, with much more boldness of spirit confessed Christ, and detested images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in spirit and truth; also that there is no Mediator but Christ alone, and that he, by his suffering, hath taken away the sins of the whole world; and that all they who depart hence in this faith, are assured of everlasting life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation: which was repugnant to the pope's proceedings. With this confession his mind was greatly refreshed, and his adversaries went away as much appalled; who, perceiving that he could not be reclaimed, caused him to be committed to the secular judge, to be burned.

Early in the morning, he was brought out of prison to the market-place, and bound to the stake till noon. Many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it: and if he cared not for his life, for his country, nor for his goods and possessions, yet he should respect his wife, whom he loved so well, and his young children; at least he should consider his own soul. But nothing could stir the settled mind of this valiant martyr; wherefore fire was commanded to be put to the dry wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise, save only these words heard in the middle of the flame, *Lord Jesus!* This was on November 24, 1551.

A little before he was burnt, there was a controversy between the mayor of the city and the bishop's clergy, as to the expenses of the wood for his burning; he, hearing thereof, sent word to both parties to agree, for he himself, of his own goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

While he was in captivity, some of the papists perceiving that he had goods and possessions, persuaded his wife, under colour of releasing her husband, to send a sum of money to the wife of the chief lord of Milan, to the end that she should entreat both her husband and the senate, for his life. Notwithstanding which, he was burned, and the silly woman robbed both of her husband, and her money.

About the year 1431, one *Thomas Rhedon*, a Carmelite friar, came with the Venetian ambassador into Italy. This man, although he was of that sect which, instead of *Christians* are called *Carmelites*, yet was he of another religion, and understood the word of God, judging that God ought to be worshipped every where in spirit and truth. This man, savouring the doctrine of Christ with his whole heart, desired to go into Italy,

trusting that he should find there, some by whom he might be instructed. This holy man, therefore, forsook his own country, and went to Rome, hoping by the example of so many notable and worthy men, he should greatly profit in godliness and learning; but he found every thing quite the contrary. There was nothing but mere dissimulation and hypocrisy. Instead of piety, there reigned amongst them the pomp and pride of the world; in place of godliness, riot; instead of learning and study, slothfulness and superstition. Tyranny and haughtiness of mind had possessed the place of apostolic simplicity; and there remained no more any place for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly understood. All things were turned upside down, all things happened to him contrary to his expectation, whithersoever he went. But nothing so much offended this good man's mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in those, whose example of humility should commend them to the whole world.

And as he saw here nothing which accorded with the rule of the apostles, he could by no means refrain from exclaiming against so great abuse and corruption of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their apparel, in their palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of servants, and in all things pertaining to them: and the more they varied from the rule of the gospel, so much the more was this good man forced to speak: If admonition could profit, the books of Wickliff and others were not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Huss, and of Jerom of Prague, and their blood shed for the same, were yet present before their eyes: But they were so little corrected and amended, that they seemed twice more cruel than they were before.

Yet all this could not terrify this good man; so that he who came to be a scholar, was now their teacher. He shewed them the way to salvation; and they, for the benefit of life, rewarded him with death. The rulers consulted by what means they might circumvent his life. This is the only armour of the bishops, to accuse a man with heresy, if he speak against their will and ambition. And as they had done with Huss, and Jerom of Prague, so they proceeded against this man: They seek to entangle him with questions, they examine him in judgment, they compile articles against him, and lay heresy to his charge; they condemn him as a heretic, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was their godliness; this was the peaceable order of those Carmelites, whose religion was to wear no sword or shield, notwithstanding they bear in their hearts malice, rancour, vengeance, poison, craft,

and deceit, sharper than any sword. They shed no blood themselves, but they deliver them over unto others to be slain! They are the authors, and the others are but the agents of the cruel fact. They kill no man as murderers do; yet they do it by another mean.

The articles which they gathered against this man, were these:

That the church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That Infidels, Jews, Turks, and Moors, shall be converted unto Christ in the latter days.

That abominations are used at Rome.

That the unjust excommunication of the pope is not to be feared: and those which do not observe the same, do not sin or offend.

After imprisonment and grievous torments, Rhedon was brought before the judges, and was easily convicted, and condemned to be burnt. After the bishops had degraded this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, they deprived him of his life also, by burning him in Rome, in the year 1436.

Persecution at Geneva.

WE have wept over the sufferings of Christians under Pagan Governments, and rejoiced in the patience and constancy with which they endured the trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonments, from which they were delivered only by the violence of the fire.

We have seen the Arians persecuting their brethren denominated Orthodox; and, in return, the Orthodox condemning the Arians to imprisonment and death in various forms.

We have seen the bloody butchers of the Inquisition coolly immolating their victims to the honour of a God, who abhors cruelty, and is loving to every man.

And now, alas! we are come to behold the same spirit of intolerance in those who called themselves the Reformed, and who gloried in protesting against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, producing the same tragical effects, and evidencing itself to be antichrist under all its pretences.

While the inquisitorial courts were making havock with Moors, Jews, and heretics in Spain, there appeared, in the year 1530, a young gentleman of about nineteen or twenty years of age, a native of Tudelle in Navarre, of an Arragonian family, named

Michael Servede, who wrote his name Reves, a youth of genius and learning, who had studied physic, and was then living in the family of Quintaine, confessor to Charles V. Servetus (for by that name he is generally known) was an Arragonian of the old cast, and seems to have imbibed both the political and religious principles of his ancestors; for it is far more probable that he was trained up in those principles, in a country where it is known they had been inculcated from the times of the Goths, than that he learned them all on a sudden in Italy. He was himself an original genius, of a manly spirit, bold in his inquiries after truth, and generous as the day in communicating his opinions, not doubting that he had as much right to investigate the doctrines of the reformation, as others had that of transubstantiation. At Strasburg, he held conferences with Bucer and Capito. He had left at Basil a manuscript for the press, in which he had attacked some of these doctrines: but the bookseller, not daring to print it, sent it to Hagenau in Alsace, whither Servetus followed to see it published. In 1531, the book came out, and in 1532 another, both small octavos. These books procured him a great number of enemies; and as they were written modestly, and at a time when a spirit of inquiry had begun to operate, they obtained him a great many friends. He was in part a stranger to the spirit of those, who have since been called Reformers, and happy would it have been for him had he always continued so.

It is not easy to determine the precise place of the birth of Servetus, or the tutors from whom he derived his religious principles, or whether he formed his opinions for himself alone. It seems very clear from his own confession in his examination, that he was born at Tudelle, in Navarre. As he had called himself in the titles of some of his books, Michael of Villanova, an Arragonian Spaniard, Mr. D'Artigny conjectured, with great probability, that his ancestors had lived originally at Villanova, and had removed to Tudelle in Navarre, where he had settled. This conjecture is of the more importance, because, could it be determined from which Villanova his family removed, it would cast light on the other question, where he imbibed his religious opinions. Some affirm, he was instructed in Africa by Jewish or Mohammedan masters; but others have rendered it highly probable, that he never was in Africa, by observing, that in his Ptolemy he always speaks of Africa from report, and never from his own observations. Others have supposed, he received his first rudiments in Italy: but there is no reason to support this conjecture, except that there were people in Italy at the same time, of his opinion. Others, again, say at Thoulouse; but there is no proof of this. To abide by his own declaration, as elucidated by

Mr. D'Artigny, it is to be remarked, that the word Aragon was at that time so vague, and the Villas so many, it is not easy to determine the place as it may first appear. Several were named from their tenures; as Villa Real, a royal town, a town on crown land. Villa de Reyna, queen's town; a town belonging to the queen in her own right. Villa Franca, a free town. Of Villa Novas, or Nuevas, new towns, there were many so called. There was one parish of this name, if no more, in the county of Urgel, belonging to the cathedral of Urgel; and consequently, as it was church-land, the tenants were always exposed to church-censures, and when the county fell into the crown, they became subject to baronial civil coercion, as far as the over-ruling laws of the state would allow. When the kings got above these laws, as they did before the birth of Servetus, it is not improbable that his family removed from this place for freedom, to Tudelle, in Navarre. There Jews, Moors, and Christians lived at ease, and there, most likely, he received his education, and his notions of civil and religious liberty, as well as his knowledge of physic, and his peculiar sentiments of religion. He was a student in his earliest youth, and understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and, in some degree, philosophy and mathematics, before he was fifteen. He was only eighteen when he published his first book. It seems, his father was a notary.

It was said just now, that Servetus was, in part, a stranger to the spirit of the Reformers. He had, indeed, experienced a little of it in Oecolampadius and Bucer, who had discovered much indignation at the presumption of the young man, for daring to call in question doctrines, which all the Christian world held, and what was more, which even they, the elect of God, called by his grace, endued with the Spirit, regularly ordained to the sacred ministry, and honoured to be the mouth of God to the laity, not only held and taught, but taught as truths so indisputable, that it was even a crime to suspect whether they were true. Both these divines had the character of mildness: but Oecolampadius thought anger just in these cases, and Bucer declared, from the pulpit, that Servetus "deserved to be cut in pieces, and his bowels torn out of him." Little doth a young generous mind, like that of Servetus, know to what a degree of settled hatred, and savage zeal, old habits of speculation rise in the hearts of some orthodox divines. On many subjects, placid and serene; but on a few favourite points, intolerant, and even cruel. It would be endless to enumerate particulars: suffice it to say, a general alarm was spread abroad; conversations, letters, sermons, books, with all the other artillery of the orthodox, were directed against the haughty Spanish blasphemous heretic;

for so they, whom themselves, the greater part of Europe called heretics, had the inconsistency to pronounce him.

The next year, 1533, Servetus, it should seem, republished his books, and added an advertisement; in which he informs the reader, that through his own unskilfulness, and the carelessness of the printer, the former edition was confused and incorrect, and which therefore he retracted; but not the doctrine advanced. It was not false, but imperfect; as if written by a child to children. He hoped no christian would be offended with the doctrine on that account, for God sometimes made use of weak means to diffuse his wisdom. Whether he published this advertisement with the first edition of the dialogues is not certain, nor is it very material. What every one believes is, that his books were pirated, printed, and reprinted; and so many contradictions have been reported both about him and them, that it would be endless to investigate particulars in order to obtain precision. This retraction was imputed to him as a crime, and urged as a proof of collusion and unsteadiness in him: and this by men, who had retracted opinions, not words, and who called their own retractions a conversion from popery; a coming out of darkness into light, an effect of the grace of God, and the irresistible influence of his Holy Spirit: by men too, who required all their followers to change their opinions, and who condemned the pontiff of Rome, and all his cardinals, the whole clergy, and all catholic states, because they would not recant popery. There is a modern writer, who, though he had as little reason as any man to correct his writings, yet did alter, in a second edition, what he had published in the first; and in a third, what he had improved in a second; and introduces the fourth with this just and beautiful observation: "Every author, who entertains a due degree of reverence for the tribunal before which he is to appear, or who considers the importance of disseminating doctrines and opinions through various parts of the world, which may operate on the happiness of others when he is no more, will be anxious to correct his mistakes, and to improve his compositions, whenever the public favour, calling for a new impression, affords him an opportunity for a revisal. In the former editions this opportunity has been embraced; and who is there who must not say, with Demea, in Terence,

"Nunquam ita quisquam bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit,
Quin res, ætas, usus semper aliquid adportet novi?"

There was a wide difference between Servetus, and the Swiss and German divines. The latter, most of them, born and brought up in despotical governments, were alarmed at the bold and

dauntless spirit of the Aragonian, and considered him as a man of infinite pride. They thought his inquisitiveness presumption, and the conclusions of his syllogisms blasphemy. Beside, they were endeavouring to enlist princes under their standards of faith, and they entertained hopes of winning the emperor over to their party: while Servetus, young, vigorous, and wholly unconnected, aimed at nothing but truth, and pushed his inquiries without keeping, or pretending to keep, measures with any party. In this spirit he quitted Germany, and went to the university of Paris. There he studied mathematics and physic, and was admitted Master of Arts, and Doctor of Medicine. Here he became acquainted with Calvin, who was then at Paris, and who, as Servetus made no secret of his religious principles, opposed his notions, and appointed a time to hold a conference with him, which, for some reason, Servetus declined. The Calvinists have since said, God Almighty called Calvin to Paris just at that critical time. Servetus had not heard of that, and it is clear from many anecdotes which afterward transpired, he had no great opinion either of the genius or religion of Calvin. They were much of an age, and it is not improbable, that Servetus, who was a high-spirited man, declined a contest, in which he thought a victory would not do him much honour. Soon after he took his doctor's degree, he professed mathematics in the Lombard College, practised physic, and employed his leisure hours in preparing for the press, a new edition of Ptolemy's Geography, which was printed at Lyons in 1735, in one volume in folio.

The enemies of the doctor found two faults in this work. The first is a mere quibble. He had called himself, in the title, Michael of Villanova. Calvin reproached him with this, but his answer was satisfactory. The second objection is of far more consequence. In the introduction to the forty-first chart, which is that of the holy land, the doctor had expressed himself thus: "The books of the Bible, and Josephus, who has followed them, call this land Canaan, and say, it abounds in various riches, fertile in fruits, well watered, full of balm, and situated in the middle of the world, which makes it neither incommoded with too great cold, nor burnt up by heats. On account of a climate so happy, the Israelites, formerly called Hebrews, believed that this was the country flowing with milk and honey, which God had formerly promised to their fathers, Abrahrm, Isaac, and Jacob. For this reason, forty years after their departure from Egypt, they took possession of it under the conduct of the valiant general, Joshua. Know, however, friendly reader, that this is not the case at present; for the experience of many merchants and travellers hath discovered, that it is uncultivated,

barren, and destitute of every thing agreeable. Therefore it may be called the promised land, but not in the modern vulgar sense of the word, which implies, that it deserves the highest praise." Calvin says, this "was judging like a blockhead and a beast, and when the villanous dog was told it was blasphemy, he only wiped his mouth, and said, Let us pass over this, there is no harm in it."

While the doctor practised physic at Paris, he published three or four small detached pieces. One was an apology for Dr. Champier, at Lyons; another, a professional piece, *De Syrupis*; and an Apology for himself, in regard to a dispute which he had with the physicians of Paris. This dispute rose to a process before parliament, which was terminated by a suppression of the Apology, and an order of the house to the physicians, to live upon better terms with Servetus, and to use him with humanity. Soon after he removed to Charlieu, where, and at Lyons, he practised medicine for three years. At Lyons he met with Peter Palmier, archbishop of Vienne, in Dauphine. This prelate had been some time ago at Paris, either a friend or a pupil of the doctor, who had given him lectures on Ptolemy's Geography. Being a great lover of learned men, and fond of Servetus, he pressed him to go to Vienne to practise physic, and offered him an apartment in his palace. This prelate seems to have been one of those, of whom there have been numbers in the catholic church, who think freely, but who do not act consistently; who regulate their own private conduct by principles the most virtuous and liberal, but who, for reasons best known to themselves, adjust all their public measures by established rules of despotism, which they inwardly disapprove. It belongs to the Great Being alone, to combine all the circumstances that go to make up the merit or demerit of such men; and to him alone it must be left, to pass the definitive sentence; "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door."

About thirteen years the doctor lived safe and happy at Vienne, under the auspices of his Right Rev. patron, always employed in the duties of his profession, or in some literary occupation. He made frequent journies to Lyons, where he revised an edition of the Bible in folio, printed by Hugo de la Parte, to which he prefixed a preface, and added marginal notes. Calvin was pleased to pronounce the notes impertinent and impious. Servetus had given a literal exposition of many of the prophecies; and Calvin pretended this was an affront to Jesus Christ. The doctor persevered, and corrected several other books for the press, and translated some treatises upon grammar from Latin into Spanish.

There lived at Lyons one John Frellon, a bookseller, an ad-

mirer of Calvin. This man, by some means, engaged Servetus to enter into an epistolary correspondence with Calvin. Mr. D'Artigny says, "Servetus had examined the works of Calvin very carefully, and not finding they deserved the great reputation which they had acquired among the reformed, he consulted him not so much to be instructed by him, as to perplex him." However it were, he proposed three questions to Calvin: the first, concerning the divinity of Jesus Christ; the second, of regeneration; and the third, of baptism. Calvin conducted this correspondence, under the fictitious name of Charles D'Espeville, and the letters passed through the hands of Frellon. Servetus disputed every word, and pushed hard, and his correspondent Charles, who had been used to treat with believers, not inquirers, felt his oracular dignity hurt, and taxed him with pride; for with divines of Calvin's cast, implicit belief of all they say, is humility. At length, Calvin bethought himself of a very ingenious device to get rid of the correspondence. He wrote Frellon word, that Servetus was Satan, who turned his attention from studies more useful, and affairs more pressing; that he had no hopes of reclaiming him, till God should give him the grace of humility; that he was a very arrogant man, and that he had addressed him in harsher language than he used to others, on purpose to bring his arrogance down; and that as he had not succeeded, he would decline any further correspondence. Frellon sent the letter to Servetus, underwritten with a note of his own, and Servetus, piqued at the contents, despised the author.

Of all Calvin's works, his favourite production was the book entitled Christian Institutes. Servetus read this book, as a critic should do, with his reasoning powers in free exercise, and finding in it a great number of mistakes and errors, he took the liberty to inform the author of them. This so irritated Calvin, that he never forgave him; and, instead of profitting by the advice of the critic, he wrote letters to his friends Viret and Farel, "that if ever this heretic should fall into his hands, he would order it so, that it should cost him his life." *Calvini ad Farellum Epist.* 1546. Mr. D'Artigny, who took his materials for the life of Servetus from the undoubted archives of the archbishoprick of Vienne, affirms this. Bolsec and Grotius both saw the original letter, Uytenbogardt had a copy of it taken from a collection of manuscript epistles, and the panegyrists of Calvin are not able to deny it. They allow the fact, but they say it was zeal, not revenge, that impelled him to write so. A miserable excuse. Many are the histories of the rage of authors against critics, but this exceeds them all. A gentleman who loves criticism, but hates ill temper, hath placed Calvin's Institutes among

such other books in his library: but hath written on the top of the title, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

In the year 1553, Servetus printed at Vienne, his chief work, entitled, Christianismi Restitutio, a thick octavo of seven hundred and thirty-four pages. This curious work, which the author was four years in composing, is divided into six parts; and the whole is a delineation of what Servetus thought the discipline of the New Testament, along with that of the church of Rome, and the Lutheran and Calvinist seceders in contrast. A part of the original manuscript was lately in the library of the celebrated Mr. Gaignat, which was sold by auction in April, 1769. It was with some difficulty that he prevailed on Arnollett the bookseller, and Guerolt the printer, to put the work to press; however he obtained his wish, by engaging himself to pay for the impression, to correct the proofs, and to give each of them a gratuity of a hundred crowns. It was printed without the name of the author, or of the city, or of the printer. The work was executed so secretly, that not one person at Vienne knew of it; and when it was finished, all the copies were sent to Lyons, from whence Frellon sent one part to Franckfort, while the other lay for an opportunity to be sent into Italy. By the way, it is in the fifth book of the first part of this work, that the famous passage concerning the circulation of the blood is found. Servetus was the first physician who mentioned it. Calvin, who had proselytes and spies every where, had an admirer at Geneva, one William Trie, a native of Lyons. Trie had a relation at Lyons, named Arney, with whom he corresponded. Arney was a catholic, and incessantly exhorted his cousin Trie to return to the bosom of the church. Trie communicated Arney's letters to Calvin, who dictated answers to them; so that they are, as Mr. D'Artigny, who published them from originals, calls them, Calvin's letters under the name of William Trie. In one of these, dated Geneva, February the 26th, the writer says, "I am astonished how you dare reproach me with our having no ecclesiastical discipline or order, and that our teachers have introduced a licentiousness, which throws every thing into confusion: and yet, at the same time, I can observe, blessed be God, that vices are better corrected here than among all your officials. And as to the doctrine, and what concerns religion, although there is more liberty here than amongst you; nevertheless, it is not permitted to blaspheme the name of God, or that doctrines or wicked opinions should be sown without being repressed. To your great confusion I can give you one example, since I am forced to mention it, which is, that with you they support a heretic, who deserves to be burnt

wherever he is found. When I mention to you a heretic, I mean one who should be condemned by the papists as well as by us; at least, he deserves to be so. You cruelly burn us: but behold him, who shall destroy all the foundations of faith, who shall gather together all the dreams of the ancient heretics, who shall even condemn the baptism of little children, calling it a diabolical invention; and he shall have the vogue amongst you, and be supported as if he had committed no fault. Where, pray, is the zeal you pretend to? And where is the wisdom of this fine hierarchy you magnify so much?" In the remaining part of the letter, the writer gives all the names of this heretic, and his place of abode, an account of the book, and where it was printed, and by whom; and in proof of all, sent the first sheet as a specimen. It is not certain by what means Calvin got a copy of this book. It was surreptitiously obtained wherever it was gotten, for it had not been published. The most probable conjecture is, as some affirm, that Frellon pilfered one from the parcel which he undertook to convey to Frankfort.

This letter occasioned a prosecution against Servetus. Arney carried the letter, with the sheet, to Ory the inquisitor. Ory, finding there was not sufficient matter to cause an arrest, dictated a letter to Arney, addressed to Trie, entreating him to send the whole work entire. "Calvin," says Mr. D'Artigny, "charmed with finding that every thing succeeded to his desire, composed an answer in the name of his confidant, and sent other papers which were more than sufficient to convict Servetus. The two letters characterize this pretended Reformer to perfection, who, with an external shew of great moderation, and an ardent zeal for religion, meditated nothing else but revenge for personal injuries." Though Calvin's admirers pretend to dispute the fact of his dictating the letters, yet the evidence given by Messieurs D'Artigny, De la Roche, and D'Alwoerde, who affirm it, seems fully and clearly against him. On the 4th of April, Servetus was committed to prison, with his valet, and with an order to the jailer to treat him kindly on account of his rank. The two next days he was interrogated. On the 7th of April he arose at four o'clock in the morning, and asked the jailer leave to walk in the garden. The man, observing he had a cap on his head, and was wrapped in his morning gown, gave him the key, and soon after went with his servants to work in his vineyard. As soon as the doctor found the coast was clear, he took off the black velvet cap, and his furred night-gown, and laid them at the foot of a tree, and putting on a hat, which he had concealed under his gown, he jumped from the terrace, got into the court, quickly passed the gate of the bridge of the Rhone, and escaped. His

flight was not known till more than two hours had elapsed. Orders were despatched every where to apprehend him; but he could not be found. The process, having been begun before his departure, was carried on in his absence, and he was condemned to be burnt alive in a slow fire. The sentence was executed in effigy on the 17th of June. The effigy of Servetus was set in a dung cart with five bales of his books, and all were burnt together for the glory of God, and the safety of the church.

Four months the doctor concealed himself, nobody knows where. Having determined to go to Naples, and settle there in the practice of his profession, he took his way through Geneva, but kept close for fear of a discovery. While he waited for a boat to cross the lake in his way to Zurich, by some means Calvin got intelligence of his arrival: and although it was on a Sunday, yet he prevailed upon the chief syndick to arrest and imprison him. On that day by the laws of Geneva no person could be arrested except for a capital crime: but this difficulty was easily removed, for John Calvin pretended, that Servetus was a heretic, and that heresy was a capital crime. To prison he was committed, and there were found upon him, his prosecutors say, ninety-seven pieces of gold, Servetus said two hundred, a gold chain which weighed about twenty crowns, and six gold rings.

As it was necessary for some person to prosecute Servetus, Calvin employed one of his own family, a Nicholas de la Fontaine. Some say he had been a cook, others a valet: but, whatever he had been, he was then a preacher resident in Calvin's house. Whether this contemptible tool, or the man of God his master, drew up the following request to the judges, it is a curiosity that ought to be preserved for the sake of putting, if it be possible, such humble murderers to the blush. "Noble and mighty Lords: there is humbly laid before you, by Nicholas de la Fontaine, having stated himself a prisoner in a criminal cause against Michael Servetus, for the great scandal and disturbance which the said Servetus has caused for the space of twenty-four years, or thereabouts, through Christendom, by the blasphemies which he has uttered and written against God; by the heresies wherewith he hath infected the world; by the wicked calumnies and false defamations, which he has published against the eminent servants of God, especially against Mr. Calvin, whose honour the said preacher is bound to maintain, as his pastor; and likewise on account of the scandal and dishonour which might happen to the church of Geneva, since the said Servetus condemned the doctrine preached there:" and so on. Calvin did not blush to say, "I ordered it so that a party should be found

to accuse him, not denying that the action was drawn up by my advice." What a glorious reformation had been wrought at Geneva, when the proof of a man's christianity lay in his humbly requesting the magistrates to burn a foreign gentleman, over whom they had no jurisdiction, for the honour of God and his eminent servant Mr. Calvin!

The doctor was arrested and imprisoned on Sunday the thirteenth of August. That very day he was brought into court, and, short as the notice had been, La Fontaine was ready prepared, and accused him of the capital crime of heresy, in proof of which he produced a copy of the doctor's Ptolemy, a latin bible with his marginal notes, and a manuscript, which had never been printed, and which six years ago he had sent to Calvin to know what he thought of it. Calvin therefore furnished La Fontaine with evidence, such as it was, against the prisoner, and he expressly affirms, "La Fontaine demanded justice against him by my advice." They are his own words. On a future day, Calvin appeared in court, and disputed with him on the words person and hypostasis: and yet he knew if he succeeded in convicting the prisoner of heresy, the crime was capital, and he was doomed by the law to die. On the twenty-second the doctor presented a petition to the syndicks and council, which consists of three articles. First he petitions to be discharged from the criminal accusation of a capital offence, because the apostles and the primitive church had no notion of making a criminal process of any doctrine of Scripture, or any questions arising from it. Secondly he prays to be discharged, because he had not committed any civil offence, either in their territories or any where else: because he had never been seditious or turbulent: because the questions before the court were difficult, and ought to be left to learned men: and because he had never spoken of them even in Germany to more than three, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito: he ought not to be punished, he said, for proposing questions to divines, without any sedition. Lastly, he humbly requests, as he was a foreigner, and wholly unacquainted with the laws and customs of the republic, that they would grant him counsel to speak for him. The petition was rejected, and the reason given for refusing to allow him counsel implied a very coarse compliment on the gentlemen of the long robe. The attorney-general observed, that the court ought not to grant the petitioner an advocate, because he himself was thoroughly skilled in the art of telling lies. What chance had this poor gentleman for his life?

In this deplorable situation, far from his own country, fallen into the hands of cruel strangers, all under the influence of Cal-

vin his avowed enemy, who bore him a mortal hatred; stripped of all his property; confined in a damp prison, and neglected till he was almost eaten up with vermin; denied an advocate, and loaded with every indignity that barbarity could invent; in this situation one of the syndicks was moved with compassion for him, and advised him to petition that his cause might be removed to the council of two hundred. There was, just at this time, in Geneva, a dispute concerning jurisdiction between the magistrates and the consistory. In the city there were about fifteen hundred free burghers, who elected twenty-one councilmen, and four syndicks, who constituted the council of twenty-five. Over these was another court of sixty, and over all the great council of two hundred. Calvin introduced a consistory and a rigid discipline, which exceedingly displeased such as saw the tendency of it. A considerable part, therefore, wished to abolish the consistory, or, if that could not be, to establish an appeal from that to the civil magistracy. Beza calls this a dangerous conspiracy, which tended to the destruction of the church, and represents all such as were concerned in it as unconverted men, who were not fond of having the word of God preached with boldness and efficacy. As for the godly, ministers and people, they were all under Calvin zealous for the consistory, and for its independence on the ungodly. Calvin nicknamed the merciful syndick, who tried to save Servetus by an appeal. "This theatrical Cæsar, (says he) pretended for three days to be indisposed, andwhen in the end he came into court, it was, truly, to try to free the wretch from punishment. In order to this, he had the face to move that the cognizance of the cause should be referred to the council of two hundred." Calvin had pretended, at his first coming to Geneva, that he was called there by a special providence. His historians say, he was furnished with the whole armour of God, and he preached the gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven: and yet, with all these advantages, he could do no good without an independent consistory. In thirty-eight, the syndicks and the citizens banished him and Farell and another minister, for their obstinate attachment to this engine of despotism. In forty-one, when Calvin's party had influence enough to get them recalled, the first thing they did was to establish the consistory. In succeeding years parties ran high, tumults were frequent, the consistory excommunicated people, the parties aggrieved appealed to the senate, and the senate granted letters of absolution, which the ministers would not admit. This triumph of the church over the state was obtained this year, and the affair of Servetus was played off by each party against the other. The pretence of heresy was a mere farce.

Omitting a great number of manœuvres of injustice and cruelty, the last act of this tragedy was performed at Geneva, on the 27th of October, 1553. Calvin had drawn up the process against Servetus, and had extracted a catalogue of errors from his books, the syndicks and the council had denounced sentence against him that he should be burnt alive: and on this day, with many brutal circumstances, the sentence was executed to the encouragement of catholic cruelty, to the scandal of the reformation, to the offence of all just men, and to the everlasting disgrace of those ecclesiastical tyrants, who were the chief instruments of such a wild and barbarous deed. Many have pretended to apologize for Calvin: but who is John Calvin, and what are his nostrums, which end in tyranny and murder, that the great voice of nature should be drowned in the din of a vain babbling about him? Servetus was not a subject of the republic of Geneva; he had committed no offence against the laws of the state, he was passing peaceably on the road, which lay through the city; he was not a member of any reformed church: he was an useful, an honourable member of society; he was a man of unimpeached morality; he was then the admiration of numbers of good judges, who afterward pleaded his cause. Calvin's hard heart never relented at the recollection of this bloody action. On the contrary he justified it by publishing after the execution a book entitled, "A faithful account of the errors of Michael Servetus, with a short confutation of them: in which it is proved that heretics ought to be restrained with the sword." Sebastian Castellio or Lælius Socinus confuted this book. Beza answered, and justified the doctrine of putting heretics to death. The popular clamour was so great against the judges, that Colladon, one of them, translated Beza's book into French, and printed it to pacify the people. Several endeavoured to sanctify the crime by scripture texts and godly words; and many have attempted after these examples to do the same. They go so far, some of them, as to attribute the destruction of Servetus to a special providence of God. Is it possible for enthusiasts to say more: and can the nicest critic tell wherein this differs from the spirit and the style of the papal inquisition?

Writers have not agreed in what class of heretics to place this Spanish physician, and it is not the business of this work to inquire. He protested against all dominion over conscience, and considered the baptism of little infants in a very severe and serious light. He calls it a detestable abomination, an extinction of the Spirit of God, a desolation of the church, a subversion of the whole profession of Christianity, an abolition of that regeneration

which Christ had instituted, and the annihilation of his kingdom. He thought none ought to be baptized till thirty years of age, after the example of Jesus. The execution of this man occasioned a great many excellent and unanswerable treatises against persecution.

The persecutors of Servetus were attacked from all parts; by the polite and mild remonstrances of the inimitable Dudith, by the rough and uncourtly reproaches of the honest Castellio, and by many others: but what stung the sanguinary Beza most was what he called a farrago, which some, mistaking it for other treatises on the same subject, attribute to Castellio, others to Lælius Socinus, but which probably was, like the famous Smectymnus, the joint work of several wise and well informed persons. Beza was offended because the authors said he had published a book to justify the murder of heretics, whereas he had only written one to prove that they ought to be put to death. They said he was an arbitrary translator of Scripture, and gave several instances of words, which he had rendered to serve ecclesiastical purposes, such as church, baptism, and others. He replied, that it was not a proper time to alter such words, and that it was impious to laugh at infant baptism, or to blame him for not translating the word dip. He distinguished between dipping and putting under water. They called him a bloody man for exhorting magistrates to put men to death for religion: and he retorted, he had wished, and he continued to wish the magistrates would serve them so.

There are so many misnomers in false religion, that it is difficult to bring the managers of it to a reckoning. In other histories the passions of mankind are called by their proper names: but in church history the fiery indignation of ecclesiastics, although it produces the same evils in society as the ungoverned rage of other men, assumes the name of zeal, and their meanness is graced with the character of modesty.

It is remarkable that these divines were zealous to punish men for denying the popular doctrine of the devil. It was very common in those times, especially in monasteries, for Satan to carry on his affairs in the shape of cats and dogs and black animals. Luther, who died six years before Calvin burnt Servetus, never shook off this prejudice. In his life time he had often seen Satan, and once particularly in his garden in the shape of a black boar. He was extremely desirous that a certain doctor should survive him, and combat this adversary after his death: but Luther could not bequeath him his courage. This doctor was Philip Schwartzerd, who had translated his name, which signifies black earth, into greek, and called himself Melancthon. Philip was

not high born, and whether it was owing to his domestic breeding, or to the harshness of his tutors to forward his education, (for he went to college when he was twelve years of age, and was admitted to his bachelor's degree when he was only fourteen) or whatever were the cause, he was the most tame and timid man alive. He had frequently the hyp, and the cholic, and kept his room, and nursed himself with herb tea. He stood in awe of Luther, and dreaded his displeasure very much. The apologists for Calvin urge the example of this man in proof of the justice of putting Servetus to death. "Melancthon himself, (say they,) the most moderate and mildest of all Reformers approves what has been done at Geneva." This is very true, and it is equally true, that no men play the tyrant more among their inferiors, than those who cringe to their superiors. Melancthon in general durst not have attacked a black cat with a broad bright eye in the night: but it cost him no courage to write a quietus for Calvin over the ashes of the dead.

M. V. who deplores the fate of Servetus, and attributes his death to Calvin, adds, "The finishing stroke to this picture of Calvin, may be found in a letter written with his own hand, which is still preserved in the castle of Bastic Roland near Montelimar. It is directed to the Marquis de Poet, high chamberlain to the king of Navarre, and dated September the 30th, 1561. 'Honour, glory, and riches, shall be the reward of your pains: but above all do not fail to rid the country of those zealous scoundrels who stir up the people to revolt against us. Such monsters should be exterminated, as I have exterminated Michael Servetus the Spaniard.'"

In 1632, *Nicholas Anthoine* was burnt at Geneva for Jewdaism, after having undergone a long trial and severe imprisonment. He was born of popish parents, at Briew, in Lorrain. His father was anxious to give him a good education, and sent him to the College at Luxemberg, where he studied five years. Disliking the Church of Rome, he applied to M. Ferry, an eminent divine at Metz, who instructed him in the Protestant religion, which he heartily embraced. From that time he professed himself a Protestant, and endeavoured to convert his relations to the reformed religion. He afterwards applied himself closely to study the Old Testament, when he was induced to embrace the religion of Moses: this was five or six years before his trial. The magistrates of Geneva ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned; when Mr. Ferry wrote to them the following letter.

"*Gentlemen and most honoured Brethren,*

"I beg your pardon for the fault I am going to commit, if you take it to be such. I have heard with unspeakable grief

what has happened to that poor man who is amongst you; and I beseech you to forgive my freedom in writing to you about it. I do not do it without the request of others. Besides, one must not expect an extraordinary call to preserve an unfortunate man who runs himself into destruction, since God and nature, and an old acquaintance and friendship, may be a sufficient motive for me to do it. To which I add, that having been instrumental in bringing him to salvation, I have great reason to desire that he may not undo himself, and to endeavour to prevent it. I think, gentlemen, that mildness and patience will be the most proper means to reclaim him. I make no doubt but his illness proceeds from a black and deep melancholy, to which I always perceived he was very much inclined. It is highly probable that his melancholy was heightened by the poverty and want of many things into which he fell soon after, and whereof he complained to me in his letters; mentioning the temptations under which his mind was ready to sink. To this I may add the nature of his studies, bent on the Old Testament, on which he was drawing up a Concordance. It is the property of some sorts of melancholy to have but one object, leaving the mind free in all other things, so that they can speak with great learning and sedateness on any other subject. I am the more inclined to believe his distemper is of this sort, because I hear he denies what the very Heathens and Jews acknowledge. And therefore it is not a heresy, but blasphemy which proceeds from a mind rather distempered than perverted. His usual frights and horrors are in my opinion a certain proof of it; and there is no reason to ascribe them to a divine judgment, and to infer from thence that he is a reprobate.

"Gentlemen, give me leave to tell you, that it is necessary for the edification of the Church that this affair should be managed with great prudence. If you make an example of him, it will doubtless prove extremely prejudicial. I entreat you to consider the great scandal it will occasion far and near. Besides, Judaism being no dangerous sect, it does not seem necessary to prevent the ill consequences of it, by a public punishment. Servetus had a long time allowed him for his amendment, though he had dogmatized above twenty years, in cool blood, about things much more subtil and dangerous; and yet you know the various discourses that were occasioned by his execution. But as this man cannot be compared to Servetus, I pray God to give him a better end. And I beseech him that he will direct you to use such remedies as are necessary to reclaim that unfortunate man, and to preserve the Church from such an infamy.

Metz, I remain, &c.
March 30, 1632 FERRY."

While he was a prisoner, he presented three petitions to the Council. He says, "Inquire into my life: I have always endeavoured to live in the fear of God, and to seek and follow the right way to salvation. God discovers his secrets to those who honour him. What I do, is only to give an account of my faith, to the glory of God, and for the salvation of my soul. God knows my heart, and is a witness to my integrity and innocence. Do not draw innocent blood upon your heads, nor upon your families, and your city; and God, in whose hands we all are, will bless you if you love his holy ways. I beseech him with all my soul to bless you, and to touch your hearts, that you may be moved with pity and compassion towards me, the poor and afflicted servant of the Lord," &c.

On the 11th of April, he was brought to his trial; when he declared that he was a Jew; beseeching God to grant him that he might die for the Jewish religion. Whereupon the Council condemned him on the 20th of April, to be strangled and burnt; and the sentence was executed the same day. The above mentioned letter of Mr. Ferry had such an effect upon the ministers of Geneva, that they went in a body to the Council, and entreated the magistrates to put off his execution for some time: but it was to no purpose.

Tract preserved in the Harleian Papers, Vol. 3.*

* That Calvinism is *semper eadem*, the "History of Dissenters" published by Bogue and Bennet, two disciples of Calvin, furnishes sufficient proof. Passing over their avowed hostility to the Established Church, we will quote two passages from their account of Methodism, and its founder; the one, a specimen of their candour and taste as critics, and the other of the humility and kindness of their spirits as christians. Mr. Wesley admired the stile of St. John, and recommended its simplicity as a model for the Christian Minister, on which occasion he would sometimes quote that beautiful and comprehensive passage, "We love him because he has first loved us." "That is, (say they) our only motive for loving God is, because he has first loved us; which is the selfishness of Arminianism: or the true reason, why we are brought to love God is, because he, in love for us, gave us the disposition, which is the humble and generous acknowledgment of Calvinism." Let the intelligent reader judge if these wordy writers have improved upon the stile of the apostle. But what authority have they for saying this is "our *only* motive," &c. Did not Mr. W. maintain, that no man can truly love God, till the love of God is shed abroad in his believing heart by the Holy Ghost given unto him? Did he not uniformly maintain that the love of God was the grand spring of every gracious dispensation to the world, and of every gracious disposition in the soul, as well as of every good word and work, in a sense, as extensive and unqualified, *at least*, as they themselves do? This they knew well, or ought to have known, before they had presumed to write on the subject.

But they go farther in expressing their Calvinian good will towards the memory of this great man. "Nor was there, (say they) in this haughty high-church priest, any mark of that sincere humility, which his communion is fond of laying down as the distinguishing sign of those who are seeking the truth." This is a correct specimen of the "humble and generous spirit of Calvinism:" what then may we not fear from its pride and intolerance! Can these writers find a single passage in all Mr. W——'s voluminous writings which approaches the

Persecutions by the Papists in England.

Historians do not agree either as to the time when, or the persons by whom, the gospel was first planted in Britain. Nicephorus saith, that Simon Zelotes, having preached in the western parts of the world, came into Britain; by whose ministry many in this island embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ. Others say, that Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, when he was sent by Festus to Rome, after he had made his defence before the emperor, was dismissed; whereupon he went into Spain, and afterwards into Britain, and preached the gospel of Christ unto them. Dorotheus and some others add, that Paul made Aristobulus, of whom he makes mention Rom. xvi. 10, the first bishop of Britain: who, having propagated the gospel in this Island, at last with many of his disciples, suffered martyrdom in the second year of the emperor Nero. Others affirm, that Philip the apostle sent Joseph of Arimathea, with twelve other of his disples into Britain, where they laid the first foundation of the Christian faith; after which divers other preachers coming hither, confirmed the same.

Tertullian, who lived in the second century, speaking how the gospel was spread abroad by the ministry of the apostles, amongst other places reckons up those parts of Britain subjected to Christ, which the Romans could never conquer. Origen, in his fourth homily on Ezekiel, hath these words, *Britaniam in Christianam consentire religionem:* that Britain had embraced the Christian faith.

In 180, or thereabouts, king Lucius reigned in Britain; who, hearing of the miracles done by Christians in divers places, sent letters to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, desiring to receive the Christian faith. The good bishop, hearing the request of the king, and glad to embrace the opportunity, sent two preachers, Faganus and Damianus, by whose faithful endeavours it pleased God that the king and many of his people, were converted and baptized: the temples of idolatry, and other monuments of gentilism, were subverted. Thus religion increased, and superstition, with all the rites of idolatry, decreased; many bishops were ordained and set over the people, and all things settled in good order. After which this godly king sent again to Eleutherius for the Roman laws, according to which he desired to

"haughty" insolence of the above? To say nothing of the clumsy and ambiguous construction of it, which ill accords with the high tone of pretension to superior qualifications which they assume.

Mr. W—, in the heat of controversy with his Calvinian adversaries, whose justice and courtesy often equalled "the humble and generous" spirit of Messrs. B— and B—, maintained the high character of the gentleman and the christian. But these writers are warring with the harmless dead!

govern his people; to which request Eleutherius returned this answer; "That for the Roman and imperial laws, they might have their defects and faults, but the law of God could not: whereupon he advised him to study the Scriptures, and out of them by the counsel of his realm, to enact laws for the government of his kingdom. For (saith he) you are God's vicar in your kingdom, and therefore it behoves you to unite your people, to call them to the faith and service of Jesus Christ, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them from all such as would do them wrong," &c. This faith, thus received by the Britons, continued and flourished amongst them, by the space of two hundred and sixteen years, even till the coming of the pagan Saxons. But all this while the Roman emperors had not embraced the Christian faith: whereupon much trouble and persecution were raised by them and their agents against the Christian Britons, especially after the death of king Lucius, who, dying without issue, the barons and nobles could not agree about a successor; so that while they contended and strove who should have the crown, the Romans stepped in, and took the government into their own hands, whereupon ensued great misery and ruin to the realm. Sometimes the idolatrous Romans, sometimes the Christian Britons reigned, as Providence succeeded them in their wars with each other.

It is highly interesting to the mind of a Briton, influenced by the spirit of the gospel, to know that his country has produced men in all ages, who, according to the means possessed by them, have been the zealous opposers of tyranny, civil and sacred. Long before the revival of letters, aided by the art of printing, there were many champions in this nation, who opposed the errors and corruptions of the papacy. The pride and intolerance of the priests—the idleness and profligacy of the monks and friars, disgusted them. They knew *Christianity* so well as to be convinced that such a spirit, and such practices, were in opposition to its precepts and general tendency; and they avowed their conviction. The bishops and clergy slandered, persecuted, and imprisoned some; and others of them were put to death as heretics. A few names have been preserved in ancient church records, which deserve a place in this work.

Among these worthies who were found in England, who disavowed the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and underwent persecution for the same; in 884, there was one *John Patrick Erigena*, a Briton, ordained by king Alfred the first reader in Oxford, who wrote a book about the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; which was afterwards condemned by the Pope, and he martyred for it.

In 960, there were some divines at Oxford branded in the face, and banished, for saying that the Church of Rome was the whore of Babylon; monkery, a stinking carrion; their vows, nurses of sodomy; purgatory, masses, &c. inventions of the devil.

In 1126, there was one Arnold, an English preacher at Oxford, who was cruelly butchered for preaching against prelates' pride, and priests' wicked lives.

St. Bernard who lived about the year 1130, in one place writes thus: "Woe be to this generation, for the leaven of the Pharisees which is hypocrisy; if yet that may be called hypocrisy, which for the abundance cannot, and for the impudence desires not to be hid. All are friends, and yet enemies: all are neighbours, and yet every one seeks his own: the ministers of Christ, and yet they serve Antichrist. It remaineth therefore that the meridian devil, that walks in the open light, come to deceive the residue, that hitherto persist in their simplicity, &c. For he is Antichrist, which counterfeiteth himself, not only to be the day, but the mid-day, and extolleth himself above all that is called God, and worshipped, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming." And in another place he saith, "It remaineth that the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition." And in another place he thus complains to God: "O God, thy near friends come near to stand against thee. All Christian people seem to have conspired against thee, &c. Alas, alas, O Lord God, those are the first and chief in persecution, who seem to love and bear the first and chief place in thy church," &c.

John of Salisbury told Pope Adrian the fourth plainly, what the world thought of him and his prelates: that the Roman Church shewed herself, not a mother, but a stepdame to all other churches; for in it sit the Scribes and Pharisees, laying insupportable burdens upon men's shoulders, which themselves will not touch with one finger, &c. yea the bishop of Rome himself is grievous to all, and almost intolerable.

And one afterwards complained, that the Church of Rome was come to that state, that it was not worthy to be governed by any, but only by reprobates.

About the year 1160, in the reign of King Henry the Second, there came above thirty of the Waldenses into England; one *Gerard* being their minister, acknowledged to be a learned man by the monk of Newbury, who writes the story. These people, labouring to win disciples unto Christ, were quickly smelt out by the popish clergy, and great complaints were made against them to the king; who thereupon assembled a council of bishops at Oxford, before whom these godly persons were convened, and Gerard their minister spoke for them all, saying: 'We are Chris-

tians, holding and reverencing the doctrine of the apostles.' Being examined in order, (saith the monk,) of the articles of the holy faith, they held right things, but would not admit of salt, spittle, and exorcisms in baptism and the eucharist, nor of binding with the stole in marriage, &c. And being urged with arguments, they answered that they believed as they were taught by God's word, but would not dispute of their faith. Being admonished to repent, and to return to the unity of the church, they despised that counsel, they scorned threats also, saying, "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven." Then did the bishops excommunicate them, and so delivered them over to be corporally punished by the king, who caused the character of heretical infamy to be burnt into their foreheads, and Gerard their minister suffered the disgrace of double burning, one in his forehead, the other about his chin; then were their clothes cut off to their girdlesteads, and with slashing whips they were publickly whipped through Oxford: they singing all the while, "Blessed are ye when men hate you, and despitefully use you," &c. The king further commanded, that none should presume to receive them to house, nor to cherish them with any comfort, whereby they miserably perished with hunger and cold, none affording any comfort to them.

In 1170, there was one *Gualo*, Professor of mathematics in Oxford, who wrote invectives against the priests and monks, for their pomp, luxury, and wicked impostures.

In 1170, there was one *Gilbert Foliot*, Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, who persuaded King Henry the Second, after the example of Jehoshaphat, and other good kings, to reform the clergy, and keep them in subjection. He also often resisted and blamed Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, to his face; for which he was much hated and persecuted.

In 1200, *Sylvester Gyrald*, much beloved by King Henry the Second, and King John, wrote a book against the uncleanness and wickedness of the monks, whereby he stirred up those hornets against him.

In 1207, *Alexander*, a divine, of Oxford, was sent to Rome by King John, to defend his authority against the Pope, which he very well did, both by Scriptures and reasons. He wrote also against the Pope's power, and temporal dominion, for which he was persecuted, and banished by Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and died in exile.

In 1210, *Gaulter Maxes*, Archdeacon of Oxford, a famous and learned man, having been at Rome, where he saw the pride and ambition of the Pope, at his return preached vehemently against it, and wrote a book, called *The Revelation of the Romish Goliah*;

and divers others against the wickedness of the clergy, against the Pope, and court of Rome, &c. For which he was much hated and persecuted.

Robert Grosthead, a learned and godly bishop, of Lincoln, and living in 1240, wrote sharply to the Pope, (especially for the evils which he committed in England,) That he was opposite to Christ, a murderer of souls, and a heretic in these his courses, &c. Upon which letters the Pope was exceedingly moved, threatening to cast down this bishop into the pit of all confusion: but some of his wiser cardinals pacified him, telling him of this bishop's holiness, learning, and reputation; and that the meddling with such an excellent man, might hasten a departure from their church: for, said they, the things which he proved, are full and manifest. This godly and learned bishop, after divers conflicts and bickerings with the Pope of Rome, and other labours and travels of life, died at Bugden in 1253. Of whom Matthew Paris thus writes: "Out of the prison of this world, whom he never loved, was taken this holy bishop of Lincoln, who was an open reprover of the pope and king, a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the monks, a director of the clergy, a fautor of scholars, a preacher to the people, a diligent searcher of the Scriptures, a severe punisher of the incontinent, a mall to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings. When he lay upon his death-bed, he sent for some of his clergy, had much good discourse with them, complained of the corruptions which were sprung up in the church, and inveighed bitterly against the manifold abominations of the church and court of Rome, concluding thus: Well may these old verses be applied to them:

Ejus avaritiæ totusnon sufficit orbis,
Ejus luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit omnis.

Th' whole world cannot suffice their greedy, covetous mind;
Nor all the drabs and naughty packs, their filthy, lusting kind.

For his thundering against the Romish Church, and for his public reproving of the covetousness, pride, and manifold tyrannies of the Pope, he was excommunicated to the pit of hell by Innocent the Fourth, and cited to come to his bloody court; but he appealed from the Pope's tyranny, to the eternal tribunal of Jesus Christ, and shortly after died.

In 1255, *Sebald*, Archbishop of York, earnestly contended against the tyranny of the Romish court. He said, that the Pope was permitted by God for the great hurt of many. He wrote to the Pope to abstain from his accustomed tyranny, and to follow the humility of his holy predecessors; and, after Peter's example, to feed the flock, not to pill, waste, and destroy them; the Pope contemned his counsel, and persecuted him for it.

In 1260, *William Strengham*, Doctor of Divinity, wrote for the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, as only necessary for salvation.

In 1270, *Roger Bacon*, Fellow of Merton College, in Oxford, a famous divine, spake freely against the antichristian errors of his times, so that Pope Nicholas the Fourth condemned his doctrine, and imprisoned him.

In 1290, *John Scotus*, of Merton College, a great schoolman, called *Doctor Subtilis*, preached against the abuse of the keys, and that transubstantiation could neither be proved by Scripture nor good reason.

In 1320, *John Baronthorp*, Doctor, and public Reader of Divinity in Oxford, called *Doctor Resolutus*, taught against the Pope, affirmed his power to be subordinate to emperors and kings, and inveighed against the deceits and impostures of Antichrist.

In 1326, *Nicholas Lyran*, a Divine of Oxford, amongst other things, wrote a book, *de Vision Dei*, against the Pope.

In 1330, *William Ockam*, Fellow of Merton College, called *Doctor Singularis*, wrote against Pope John the Twenty-Third, and against Clement, charging him with heresy; calling him Antichrist, a hater of Christ, and enemy of the commonwealth; affirming, that the Pope had no power over civil magistrates.

In 1351, *Nicholas Orum*, Doctor, of Oxford, preached at Rome before Pope Urban the Fifth, and his cardinals, wherein he discovered and condemned the papacy, and foretold their destruction. He wrote the epistle from Lucifer to the clergy, thanking them for sending so many souls to hell: he placed his daughters, pride, avarice, luxury, fraud, and especially Simony, to them as to their proper husbands.

In 1355, *Richard Fitzralph*, Chancellor of Oxford, and Archbishop of Armagh, wrote against begging friars; and, in his public lectures, set forth their folly, fraud, luxury, wantonness, pride, pomp, &c.

In 1360, *Richard Killington*, Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, defended the book of Armachanus, and wrote many learned books against the monks and friars.

About this time Wickliff was gloriously contending with the Beast, and had many followers. See his Life, Vol. I.

In 1379, *William Wickam*, Bishop of Winchester, who built a college in Oxford, and another at Winchester, was a great enemy to the Romish locusts; and professed, that notwithstanding all the good works which he had done, yet that he trusted in the merits of Christ alone for salvation.

In 1382, *Philip of Repington*, of Merton College, declaimed boldly against the erroneous and impure doctrine of the Church

of Rome; against the Roman Pharaoh, men's traditions, masses, pilgrimages, auricular confession, &c. wherein Dr. Rigges, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors, joined with him.

Thus we have seen, in some particulars, how God raised up in those dark times some worthy instruments, who, with the hazard of their estates, honours, liberty, and lives, publickly opposed the corruptions which were crept into the church, and exposed themselves to the greatest dangers for the vindication of the truth. Neither were these men alone and singular in their opinions, for, through God's mercy, their doctrine was readily embraced by many; so that in the reign of King Henry the Second, about the year 1174, many of them were persecuted, and some burnt. But this true doctrine was more generally received in the time of King Edward the Third; when, as the ministry of Wickliff in Oxford, found a good liking, and general applause among his hearers; yea, it had the approbation of the whole university; and when bulls came thick from Rome against him and his doctrine, the whole university gave a testimony in favour of him, under their seal, in the congregation-house: yea, he had many great favourers among the nobility, citizens of London, and others: and his doctrine took such deep root in the hearts of many, that it could never be extirpated by all the means which for many years after his death, were used by Popes, princes, prelates, and their officers, who from time to time, even till Luther's time, persecuted and endeavoured to suppress the same. Amongst which number of the persecuted, these were some: *Utred Bolton*, and *John Ashwerby*, Fellows of Oriel College, both much troubled and persecuted for preaching and promoting Wickliff's doctrines, in 1380.

John Ashton, Fellow of Merton College, persecuted, and at last condemned to perpetual imprisonment for the same, in 1382.

Walter Brute, of Merton College, persecuted by the bishop of Hereford, in 1390.

Peter Pateshal, who had faithfully preached this doctrine at London, and in the court, was forced by persecutio to flee into Bohemia for refuge, about the same time.

Henry Crump, Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, was first an adversary, but afterwars convinced and converted by Wicliff's doctrine; preached it boldly, for which he was persecuted by the bishops, who forced him to flee into Ireland; yet there also, was he long imprisoned by a bishop, about the year 1392.

William Sautre, the first Martyr by Fire in England.

In the second year of the reign of Henry the Fourth, 1400, a parliament was held at Westminster, in which one *William Sautre*, a good man, and a faithful priest, inflamed with zeal for

true religion, desired to be heard for the benefit of his country. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and divers of the clergy, being informed of this, prevented his design, and obtained an order for referring the matter to the convocation.

Here he was convicted of what they call heresy, degraded, and delivered up to the secular power. Which being done, the bishops ceased not to importune the king, that he might be speedily executed. Whereupon the king, ready enough to gratify the clergy, and to retain their favours, directed a terrible decree against the said William Sautre, and sent it to the mayor and sheriffs of London to be put in execution.

The Decree of the King against William Sautre.

The decree of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his council in the parliament, against a certain new-sprung-up heretic, to the mayor and sheriffs of London, &c. Whereas the reverend father, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the consent, and counsel of other bishops, and also of the whole clergy within his diocese, gathered together in his provincial council, the due order of the law being observed in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sautre, some time chaplain, to be a most manifest heretic; and, therefore, hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the clergy. We, therefore, being zealous in religion, and reverend lovers of the Catholic faith, minding to maintain and defend the holy church, and the laws and liberties of the same, to root all such errors and heresies out of our kingdom of England, and with condign punishment to correct and punish all such heretics, or such as be convicted: we command you, as straitly as we may or can, firmly enjoining you, that you do cause the said William, being in your custody, in some public open place within the liberties of your city aforesaid, (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people,) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon.—*Teste Rege, apud Westm.* 26 *Febr. An. Regni sui.*

Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the church, insomuch, that they have been their butchers to slay Christ's poor innocent members. See, therefore, what danger it is for princes not to have knowledge and understanding of themselves, but to be led by other men's eyes, and especially trusting to such guides, who

through hypocrisy both deceive them, and through cruelty devour the people.

As king Henry IV. (who was the deposer of king Richard) was the first of all the English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope; so was this William Sautre, the true and faithful martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliff's time, which I find to be burned in the reign of the aforesaid king.

William Swinderby, of King's College, in Oxford, having for a good while taught the truth at Leicester, was at last apprehended and compelled to recant: but after a while repenting, and receiving new strength from God, he renewed his doctrine, and was burnt in Smithfield, in 1401.

William Thorp, Fellow of Queen's College, in Oxford, was apprehended for the same, examined, imprisoned, and there at last secretly put to death, by Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1407.

Martyrdom of Thomas Bradby.

Thomas Bradby was a laymen, and by trade a tailor. He was arraigned in the year 1409, before the bishop of Worcester, and convicted of heresy. On his examination, he said, that it was impossible any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, nor would he believe it unless he saw, manifestly, the corporeal body of the Lord to be handled by the priest at the altar; that it was ridiculous to imagine, that at the supper Christ held in his own hand his own body and divided it among his disciples, and yet remaining whole. "I believe," said he, "the omnipotent God in trinity; but if every consecrated host at the altars, be Christ's body, there must then be in England no less than twenty thousand gods." After this he was brought before the archbishop of Canterbury at St. Paul's church, and again examined in presence of a great number of bishops, the duke of York, and several of the first nobility. Great pains were used to make him recant; but he courageously answered that he would still abide by his former opinions, which no power should force him to forego. On this the archbishop of Canterbury ratified the sentence given by the bishop of Worcester. When the king had signed the warrant for his death, he was brought to Smithfield, and there being put in an empty tub, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, and had dry wood piled around him. And as he was thus standing in the tun, it happened that the prince, the king's eldest son, was there present; who, shewing some part of the good Samaritan, began to endeavour how to save the life of him whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished

and counselled him, that having respect unto himself he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatenings, the which might have daunted any man. Also Courtney, at that time chancellor of Oxford, preached unto him, and informed him of the faith of the holy church.

In the mean time the prior of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, brought with all solemnity the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and shewed the sacrament to the poor man at the stake. And then they demanded of him how he believed in it, he answered, that he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, "Mercy!" (calling belike upon the Lord), when the prince immediately commanded to take away the tun, and quench the fire. He then asked him if he would forsake heresy, and take the faith of the holy church, which, if he would do, he should have goods enough, promising him also a yearly pension out of the king's treasury. But, this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, as, also contemning all men's devices, refused the offer of worldly promises, being more inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly desire. Wherefore, as he continued immovable in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the tun, and that he should not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant soldier of Christ, he persevered invincibly till his body was reduced to ashes, and his soul rose triumphant unto him who gave it.

Lawrence Redman, *William James*, *Thomas Brightwell*, *William Haulam*, *Radulph Greenhurst*, and *John Schut*, were all grievously persecuted by the popish party, in 1420.

From the most authentic accounts it appears that the Lollards were a sect of pious, zealous people, justly offended with the superstition and sensuality, the pride and intolerance of the Romish priests and monks, who, having taken away the key of knowledge from the common people, entered not into the kingdom of heaven themselves, and those who were entering in they hindered.

Walter Lollard, an Englishman, is said to have been the founder of this sect, who, after having first propagated his doctrines in Germany and other parts of the continent, with much success, returned to England, when his disciples were first called Lollards. They rejected the sacrifice of the Mass, Extreme Unction, and Penances for sin, insisting that the sufferings of Christ were sufficient. The Romish clergy accused him of

holding many absurd opinions, as well as encouraging many abominable practices amongst his followers. But in that age, whoever had courage to oppose the Church of Rome was slandered and persecuted. Lollard sealed the truth with his blood, being burnt alive at Cologne, in 1322.

Others derive the name from the old German *lullen*, *lollen*, or *lallen*, "to sing with a low voice," and say that Lollard means a singer, or one that is continually praising God. Hence the term was generally applied to all the pious people who opposed the errors of the Papacy. About the year 1300, some honest pious Laymen at Antwerp formed a society for the purposes of visiting the sick, and attending the funerals of the dead. On account of their extraordinary temperance and modesty, they were called *Moderatists*, and also Lollards, from their singing at funeral obsequies.—*Mosheim.* The opinions of this sect had made considerable progress in England ere the celebrated Wickliff was known, and helped to prepare his way before him. But when his works were published, they contributed greatly to their instruction and encouragement, so that their number increased in many parts of the country. Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham became their patron, and supported many of their Itinerant preachers, by whom, the gospel was spread amongst the people, and many were rescued from ignorance and sin.

The following account is taken from "A brefe chronycle concerning the Examinacion and death of the blessed Martir of Christ, Sir Johan Oldcastell the Lord Cobham; collected by Johan Bale," and preserved in the last edition of the Harleian Papers.

HE that hath judgement in the spyrite, shall easely perceyve by this Treatise, what beastly blockheades these blody belly-gods were in theyr unsavery interrogations; and again, what influence of grace this man of God had from above concerning his answeres, specyally in that moost blind and ignoraunt tyme, wherein all was but darkenesse, the sonne appearring sacke-clothe, as St. Johan hath in the Apocalyps: most surely fulfilled Christ's promes in him, which he made to his apostles, "Cast not in your minde aforehande, (saith he) what answere ye shall make, whan these spiritual tyraunts shall examine you in theyr sinagoges, and so deliver you up unto kinges and debitees. For I will geve you such utteraunce and wisdome in that houre, as all your enemies shall never be able to resist." This onely sentence of Christ is ynough to prove him his true disciple; and them, in

theyr folyshe questions, the manifest members of Sathan. I remembre that xiiij years ago, the tru servaunt of God, Wyllyam Tindale, put into the prent a certain brefe examinacion of the sayd Lord Cobham: the which examinacion was written in the tyme of the said Lordes troble, by a certein frinde of his, and so reserved in copyes unto this our age. But sens that tyme I have found it in theyr owne writtings, (which were than his uttre ennemyes) in a moche more ample fourme than there: speciallye in the great processe, which Thomas Arundell, Archbisshop of Canterbury, made than against him, written by his own notaryes and clerkes, tokened also with his owne signe and seale, and so directed unto Rychard Clifford, than Bisshop of London. With a general commandment to have it then publisshed by him, and by the other Bisshops, the whole realme over.

Polydorus Virgillius, a collectour somtmye in Ingland of the Popes Peter-pens, and afterwards Archdeacon of Welles, hath in this point deformed his writtinges greatly, pointinge out Inglysh chronycles moost shamefully with his Romish lyes, and other Italysh beggery. Battels hath he described there at large with no small discommendings of some princes, whiche were godlye; but the previe packing of prelates, and craftie conscience of the spiritualtee, hath he in every place almoost full properly passed over. He was to familyar with the bisshop, and took to moche of their counsell, whan he compiled the xxvi bokes of his Inglysh hystory: and not greatly is the land beholden unto him in that worke, for any large prayse of erudicyon that he hath geven it there. A singular beautee is it to the Chrysten relygion, whan theyr auncient monumentes are garnished among others with men of freshe lyterature, which therein hath small remembraunce or none. Unlesse it be Gildas, Bedas, Alcuinus, Joannes Scotus, Aldelmus, Neubergus, and one or two more, none are in that whole worke mencioned concerning that, as though Ingland had alwaies bene most barren of men lerned. This do I not wryte in disprayse of his learning, (which I know to be very excellent) but for the abuse thereof, being a most syngular gyft of God. After that he followeth with lye upon lye, concerning the arrestation of the good Lord Cobham and his friends; as, 'that they came than to London, to destroy the 'king; that he in his own person met wyth them in armes; that 'they cowardly fledde; that som were taken there, and brent out of hand; and that the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Acton, 'were cast into the tower of London upon that occasyon.' Semeth it not a mater somewhat lyke to the purpose, (think ye) that men should be there burned for making such an insurrection or tumult? I trowe he hath cobled here somwhat workemanly. And whereas he saith in the end, that 'the king thereupon

'made an acte, that they from thensforth shuld be taken as 'traitcurs against his owne personne, whiche were proved to 'follow that secte;' he maketh an abominable ly. For that acte was made onely at the bisshops complainte and false sute, in the fyrst yere of his reigne, and by force of that acte those innocent men than suffred. More than iiij. hundreth of such manifest lyes coude I gather out of his chronycles, moch more than might more eyes and judgements do.

Now lett us expend what the true cause shud be of this godly mannes condemnacion and death; all dreames of Papistes set apart. The truth of it is, that, after he had ones throughlye tasted the Chrysten doctrine of Johan Wicleve and of his disciples, and perceived their livinges agreeable to the same, he abhorred all the superstitious sorceries (ceremonies I should say) of the proud Romish Church. From thensforth he brought all thinges to the touchestone of God's word. He tryed all maters to the Scryptures, and so 'proved their spyrites, whether they were of God or nay.' He mainteined such preachers in the diocesses of Canterbury, London, Rochester, Herforde, as the bisshoppes were sore offended with. He exhorted theyr pryestes to a better waye by the Gospell; and, whan that wolde not helpe, he gave them sharpe rebukes. He admonished the kinges, as Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, of the clergyes manifolde abuses, and put into the Parlament-house certein bokes concerning their just reformation, both in the yere of our Lord, a M.ccc.xcv. and in the year a M.cccc.x. Of the first boke this is the beginning: Prima conclusio. Quando Ecclesia Angliæ, &c. which I have here lefte oute, least thys treatyse shud be to great. The other boke was made by one Johan Purveye, a master of art of Oxforde. Besides the xviij. couclusions that Master Johan Wicleve had put in long afore that.

In the yere of our Lord a M.ccc.xci. this noble Lord Cobham, with certein other more, mocioned the king at Westminster, at the time of his parlament, that it were very commodious to Ingland, if the Romish bisshoppes auctoritee extended no farthar than the Oceane Sea, or the Haven of Calys, consydering the charges and unquietnes of sutes there, and that mens causes coulde not be throughlye knownen so farre of. Where-upon, the king made this acte by consent of his lordes, that no man 'from thensforth should sue to the Pope in any mater, nor pub-'lysh any excommunication of his, under payne of losing their 'goods, with perpetuall imprisonment.' This and the afore-named boke had cost him, with Sir John Cheny and other more, his lyfe, in the sixt yere after, at the crafty accusement of certein prelates, (though it hath in the cronycles an other colour) had not God than moost graciously preserved him. An other cause,

of his death, yet, besides all that hath been sayd afore, was this: He caused all the works of Johan Wicleve to be written at the instaunce of Johan Huss, and so to be sent into Boheme, Fraunce, Spayne, Portingale, and other landes: whereof Subinco Lepis, the archbisshop of Prage, caused more than two hundreth volumes fayre written openly to be brent afterwarde, as witnesseth Æneas Silvius, de Origine Bohemorum."

Although the Lollards were very numerous in this country in the reign of Richard II. as there were no penal statutes to punish nonconformity, the slanders and anathema of the clergy and monks could do them little essential injury. But when the parliament of Henry IV. passed an act, at the instance of the monarch, to gratify the clergy, making it a capital crime, the state of things was greatly changed, and the sufferings of these innocent people became extreme. The following is the statute called *Ex officio*:

"That is to say, That no man within this realm, or other the king's majesty's dominions, presume to take upon him to preach privily or openly, without special license first obtained of the ordinary of the same place, (curates in their own parish churches, and persons heretofore privileged, and others admitted by the canon law, only excepted.) Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach, inform openly or in secret, or make or write any book contrary to the Catholic faith and determination of the holy church. Nor that any hereafter make any conventicles or assemblies, or keep and exercise any manner of schools touching this sect, wicked doctrine, and opinion. And further, that no man hereafter shall by any means favour such preacher, any such maker of unlawful assemblies, or any such book-maker, or writer; and finally, any such teacher, informer, or stirrer up of the people. And that all and singular persons having any the said books, writings, or schedules containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions, shall, within forty days after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered, all and singular the said books and writings unto the ordinary of the same place. And if it shall happen any person or persons, of what kind, state, or condition, soever he or they be, to do or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this present proclamation and statute, or not to deliver the same books in form aforesaid; that then the ordinary of the same place in his own diocese, by authority of the said proclamation and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained under safe custody the said person or persons in this case defamed, and evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending, have, by order of law, purged him or themselves as touching the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he

or they have denied and recanted (according to the laws ecclesiastical) the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, and heretical and erroneous opinions. And that the said ordinary by himself or his commissaries, proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of law against the said persons so arrested and remaining under safe custody, and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the said arrest, (all delay and excuses set apart) according to the order and custom of the canon law. And if any person, in any cause above-mentioned, shall be lawfully convicted before the ordinary of the diocese or his commissaries; that then the said ordinary may lawfully cause the said person so convicted, according to the manner and quality of his fact, to be laid in any of his own prisons, and there to be kept so long as to his discretion shall be thought expedient.

"And further, The said ordinary (except in cases, by the which, according to the canon law, the party offending ought to be delivered unto the secular power) shall charge the said person with such a fine of money to be paid unto the king's majesty, as he shall think competent for the manner and quality of his offence. And the said diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said fine into the king's majesty's exchequer, by his letters patent under his seal; to the intent that the said fine may be levied to the king's majesty's use, of the goods of the person so convicted.

"And further, If any person within this realm and other the king's majesty's dominions shall be convicted before the ordinary of the place, or his commissaries, of the said wicked preachings, teaching, opinions, schools, and informations; or if, after his abjuration once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the diocesan of the place, or his commissaries, (for so by the canon law he ought to be left to the secular power, upon credit given to the ordinary or his commissaries,) that then the sheriff of the same county, the mayor, sheriffs or sheriff, or the mayor or bailiffs of the same city, village, or borough, of the same county, and nearest inhabiting to the said ordinary, or his said commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required, to confer with the said ordinary or his commissaries in giving sentence against the said persons offending, or any of them; and after the said sentence so pronounced, shall take unto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror unto others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or authors and favourers thereof, be no more maintained within this realm and dominion, to the great hurt (which

God forbid) of Christian religion, and decrees of holy church. In all which and singular the premises, concerning the statute aforesaid, let the sheriff, mayors, and bailiffs, of the said counties, cities, villages, and boroughs, be attendant, aiding and favouring the said ordinaries and their commissaries."

For the confirmation of this statute of the king, concurs another Constitution made about the same time by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel; highly worthy the attention of all those who feel gratitude to God for the Protestant faith in the Church, and a Protestant Government in the State.

"Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the see apostolic; to all our reverend brethren, fellow bishops and our suffragans; and to abbots, priors, deans of cathedral churches, archdeacons, provosts, and canons; also to all parsons, vicars, chaplains, and clerks in parish churches, and to all laymen, wheresoever dwelling within our province of Canterbury, greeting, and grace to stand firmly in the doctrine of the holy mother-church. It is a manifest and plain case, that he doth wrong and injury to the most reverend council, who so revolteth from the things being in the said council once discussed and decided. And whosoever dare presume to dispute of the supreme or principal judgment here in earth, in so doing incurreth the pain of sacrilege, according to the authority of civil wisdom and manifold tradition of human law. Much more than they, who trusting to their own wits, are so bold to violate, and with contrary doctrine to resist, and in word and deed to contemn, the precepts of laws and canons, rightly made, and proceeding from the key-bearer and porter of eternal life and death, bearing the room and person, not of pure man, but of true God, here in earth; which also have been observed hitherto by the holy fathers our predecessors, unto the glorious effusion of their blood, and voluntary sprinkling out of their brains, are worthy of greater punishment, deserving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the body of the church militant. For such ought to consider what is in the Old Testament written: "Moses and Aaron among his priests;" that is, were chief heads amongst them. And in the New Testament, among the apostles there was a certain difference; and though they were all apostles, yet was it granted by the Lord to Peter, that he should bear pre-eminence above the other apostles; and also the apostles themselves would the same that he should be the chieftain over all the rest; and being called *Cephas*, that is, *head*, should be a prince over the apostles. Unto whom it was said, "Thou being once converted, confirm thy bre-

thren:" as though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and stray out of the way of faith, of just living, or right conversation, do thou confirm and reduce him in the right way again; which thing no doubt the Lord would never have said unto him if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient unto him. And yet, all this notwithstanding, we know and daily prove that we are sorry to speak, how the old sophister, the enemy of mankind, foreseeing and fearing lest the sound doctrine of the church, determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers, should withstand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in unity of faith under one head of the church, doth therefore endeavour by all means possible to extirpate the said doctrine, feigning vices to be virtues. And so, under false pretences of verity dissembled, he soweth discord in Catholic people, to the intent that some going one way, some another, he in the mean time may gather to himself a church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the universal holy mother church. In the which, Satan transforming himself into an angel of light, bearing a lying and deceitful balance in his hand, pretendeth great righteousness, in opposing the ancient doctrine of the holy mother church, and refusing the traditions of the same determined and appointed by holy fathers; persuading men, by feigned forgeries, the same to be naught; and so introducing other new kinds of doctrine, leading to more goodness, as he by his lying persuasions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willeth nor mindeth any goodness, but rather that he may sow schisms, whereby divers opinions, and contrary to themselves, being raised in the church, faith thereby may be diminished, and also the reverend holy mysteries, through the same contention of words, may be profaned by Pagans, Jews, and other infidels and wicked miscreants. And so that figure in Apoc. 6, is well verified, speaking of him that sat on the black horse, bearing a pair of balances in his hand, by the which heretics are understood. Who at the first appearance, like to weights or balance, make as though they would set forth right and just things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the black horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they under a diverse show, and colour of a just balance, with the tail of a black horse, sprinkling abroad heresies and errors, do strike. And being poisoned themselves, under colour of good, raise up infinite slanders, and by certain persons fit to do mischief do publish abroad as it were the sugared taste of honey mixed with poison, thereby the sooner to be taken; working and causing through their sleight and subtilties, that error should be taken for verity, wickedness for holiness and for the true will of Christ;

yea, and moreover the aforesaid persons thus picked out do preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seed before the seed discreetly be separated from the chaff. Who not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the canons, provided for the same purpose against such pestilent sowers, do prefer diabolical sacrifice (so to term it) before obedience to be given to the holy church militant.

" We, therefore, considering and weighing, that error which is not resisted seemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his bosom too wide which resisteth not the viper, thinking there to thrust out her venom; and willing, moreover, to shake off the dust from our feet, and to see to the honour of our holy mother church, whereby one uniform holy doctrine may be sown and planted in the church of God, (namely, in this our province of Canterbury,) so much as in us doth lie, to the increase of faith and service of God, first rooting out the evil weeds and offences, which by the means of perverse preaching and doctrine have sprung up hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow; purposing by some convenient way with all diligence possible to withstand them in time, and to provide for the peril of souls, which we see to rise under pretence of the premises; also to remove all such obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped; by the advice and assent of all our suffragans and other prelates, being present in this our convocation of the clergy, as also of the procurators of them that be absent, and at instant the petition of the procurators of the whole clergy within this our province of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, adding thereunto punishments and penalties condign as be hereunder written, we will and command, ordain, and decree:

" That no manner of person, secular or regular, being authorized to preach by the laws now prescribed, or licensed by special privilege, shall take upon him the office of preaching the Word of God, or by any means preach unto the clergy or laity, either within the church or without, in English, except he first present himself, and be examined by the ordinary of the place where he preacheth. And so being found a fit person, as well in manners as knowledge, he shall be sent by the said ordinary to some one church or more, as shall be thought expedient by the said ordinary, according to the quality of the person. Nor any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he give faithful signification in due form of his sending and authority, that is, that he that is authorized do come in form appointed him in that behalf; and those that affirm they come by special privilege, do shew their privilege unto the parson or vicar of the place where they preach. And those that pretend

themselves to be sent by the ordinary of the place, shall likewise shew the ordinary's letters made unto him for that purpose, under his great seat. Let us always understand, the curate (having the perpetuity) to be sent of right unto the people of his own cure. But if any person aforesaid shall be forbidden by the ordinary of the place, or any other superior, to preach, by reason of his errors or heresies, which before peradventure he hath preached and taught; that then and from thenceforth he abstain from preaching within our province, until he have purged himself, and be lawfully admitted again to preach by the just arbitrement of him that suspended and forbade him. And shall always after that carry with him, to all places wheresover he shall preach, the letters testimonial of him that restored him.

"Moreover, the parish-priests or vicars temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being sent in form aforesaid, shall simply preach in the churches where they have charge, only those things which are expressly contained in the provincial constitution set forth by John our predecessor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the priests, which beginneth *Ignorantia Sacerdotum.* Which book of constitutions we would should be had in every parish church in our province of Canterbury, within three months next after the publication of these presents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the priests themselves yearly, and at the times appointed. And lest this wholesome statute might be thought hurtful to some, by reason of payment of money, or some other difficulty; we, therefore, will and ordain, That the examinations of the persons aforesaid, and the making of their letters by the ordinary, be done gratis and freely, without any exaction of money at all by those to whom it shall appertain: And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our statute grounded upon the old law, after the publication of the same, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication *ipso facto:* whose absolution we specially reserve by tenor of these presents to us and our successors. But if any such preacher, despising this wholesome statute, and not weighing the sentence of greater excommunication, do the second time take upon him to preach; saying and alleging, and stoutly affirming, that the sentence of greater excommunication aforesaid cannot be appointed by the church in the persons of the prelates of the same; that then superiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the communion of all faithful Christians.

"And that the said person hereupon lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the church) be pronounced an heretic by the ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for an heretic and

schismatic, and that he incur *(ipso facto)* the penalties of heresy and schismaticism, expressed in the law; and chiefly that his goods be adjudged confiscated by the law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders, being convicted, in all cases be likewise published, if they cease not within one month, being lawfully warned thereof by their superiors.

"Furthermore, no clergyman or parochians of any parish or place, within our province of Cunterbury, shall admit any man to preach within their churches, church-yards, or other places whatsoever, except first there be manifest knowledge had of his authority, privilege, or sending thither, according to the other aforesaid: otherwise the church, church-yard, or what place soever, in which it was so preached, shall *ipso facto* receive the ecclesiastical interdict, and so shall remain interdicted, until they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, have reformed themselves, and obtained the place so interdicted to be released in due form of law, either from the ordinary of the place, or else his superior.

"Moreover, like as a householder casteth wheat into the ground (well ordered for that purpose) thereby to get the more increase; even so we will and command, That the preachers of God's word, coming in form aforesaid, preaching either unto the clergy or laity, according to his matter proponed, shall be of good behaviour, sowing such seed as shall be convenient for his auditory. And chiefly preaching to the clergy, he shall touch the vices commonly used amongst them; and to the laity, he shall declare the vices commonly used amongst them, and not otherwise. But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the ordinary of that place, according to the quality of the offence.

"Forasmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole; we do decree and ordain, That no preacher aforesaid, or any other person whatsoever, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, confession of sins, or any other sacrament of the church, or article of the faith, than that already is discussed by the holy mother church, nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the church; nor shall to his knowledge privily or openly pronounce blasphemous words concerning the same, nor shall teach, preach, or observe any sect, or kind of heresy whatsoever, contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of these presents, shall incur the sentence of excommunication, *ipso facto.* From which (except in point of death) he shall not be absolved, until he hath reformed himself by abju-

ration of his heresy, at the discretion of the ordinary in whose territory he so offended, and hath received wholesome penance for his offences. But if the second time he shall so offend, being lawfully convicted, he shall be pronounced an heretic, and his goods confiscated, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. The penance before mentioned shall be after this manner: If any man, contrary to the determination of the church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our constitutions provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of heresy; he shall in the parish church of the same place where he so preached, upon one Sunday or other solemn day, or more, at the discretion of the ordinary, and as his offence is more or less, expressly revoke that he so preached, taught, or affirmed, even at the time of the solemnity of the mass, when the people are most assembled; and there shall effectually, and without fraud, preach and teach the very truth determined by the church: and further shall be punished after the quality of his offence, as shall be thought expedient to the discretion of the ordinary.

"Forasmuch as a new vessel, being long used, savoureth after the head, we decree and ordain, That no schoolmasters and teachers whatsoever, that instruct children in grammar, or others whatsoever in primitive sciences, shall, in teaching them, intermingle any thing concerning the Catholic faith, the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments of the church, contrary to the determination of the church, nor shall suffer their scholars to expound the Holy Scriptures, (except the text as hath been used in ancient time,) nor shall permit them to dispute openly or privily concerning the Catholic faith, or sacraments of the church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be grievously punished by the ordinary of the place, as a favourer of errors and schisms.

"For that a new way doth more frequently lead astray than an old way; we will and command, That no book or treatise made by *John Wickliff*, or other whomsoever, about that time or since, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in schools, halls, hospitals, or other places whatsoever, within our province of Canterbury aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or at the least by twelve persons, whom the said universities, or one of them, shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion, or the laudable discretion of our successors; and the same being examined, as aforesaid, to be expressly proved and allowed by us or our succesors, and in the name and authority of the university, to be delivered unto the stationers to be copied out, and the same to be sold at a reasonable price; the original thereof always to

remain in some chest of the university. But if any man shall read any such kind of book in schools, or otherwise, as aforesaid, he shall be punished as a sower of schism, and a favourer of heresy, as the quality of the fault shall require.

"It is a dangerous thing (as witnesseth blessed St. Jerom) to translate the text of the Holy Scripture out of one tongue into another; for in the translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St. Jerom confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred: we therefore decree and ordain, That no man hereafter by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise; and that no man read any such book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wickliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or openly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or (if the case so require) by the council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy.

"For that Almighty God cannot be expressed with any philosophical terms, or otherwise invented of man; and St. Augustin saith, That he hath oftentimes revoked such conclusions as have been most true, because they have been offensive to the ears of the religious: We do ordain and specially command, that no manner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soever he be, do allege or propone any conclusions or propositions contrary to the Catholic faith, or repugnant to good manners, (except necessary doctrine appertaining to their faculty of teaching or disputing in their schools, or otherwise,) although they defend the same with never so curious terms and words. For, as saith the blessed St. Hugh of the sacraments, That which oftentimes is well spoken is not well understood. If any man, therefore, after the publication of these presents, shall be convicted wittingly to have proponed such conclusions or propositions, (except being admonished) he reform himself in one month by virtue of this present constitution, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, *ipso facto*, and shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, until he hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said conclusion or proposition in one church or more, as shall be thought expedient to the ordinary.

"No manner of person shall presume to dispute upon the articles determined by the church, as is contained in the decrees, decretals, or constitutions provincial, or in the general councils; but only to seek out the true meaning thereof, and

that expressly, whether it be openly or in secret: nor shall call in doubt the authority of the said decretals or constitutions, or the authority of him that made them, nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: and chiefly concerning the adoration of the holy cross, the worshipping of images, of saints, going on pilgrimage to certain places, or to the relics of saints, or against the oaths in cases accustomed to be given in both common places, that is to say, spiritual and temporal. But of all it shall be commonly taught and preached, that the cross and image of the crucifix, and other images of saints, in the honour of them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with procession, bowing of knees, offering of frankincense, kissing, oblations, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages, and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been used in the time of our predecessors, and that giving of oaths in cases expressed in the law, and used by all men to whom it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done upon the book of the gospel of Christ. Contrary unto this whosoever doth preach, teach, or obstinately affirm, (except he recant in manner and form aforesaid,) shall forthwith incur the penalty of heresy, and shall be pronounced an heretic, in all effect of the law.

"We do decree and ordain, That no chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any diocese within our province of Canterbury, where he was not born, or received not orders, except he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters commendatory from his ordinary, and also from other bishops in whose diocese of a long time he hath been conversant, whereby his conversation and manners may appear; so that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new opinions touching the Catholic faith, or whether he be free from the same: otherwise, as well he that celebrateth, as he that suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharply punished at the discretion of the ordinary.

"*Finally*, Because those things which newly and unaccustomably creep up, stand in need of new and speedy help; and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumspection and stronger resistance; and not without good cause, the less noble ought discreetly to be cut away, that the more noble may the more perfectly be nourished: Considering therefore, and in lamentable wise shewing unto you, how the ancient university of Oxford, which as a fruitful vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the church; now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being indiscreetly eaten by ancient fathers, that thought themselves skilful in the law of God, hath set on edge the teeth of their children; and our province is infected with divers and unfruitful doctrines, and defiled

with a new and damnable name of *Lollardy*, to the great reproof and offence of the said university; being known in foreign countries, and to the great irksomeness of the students there, and to the great damage and loss of the Church of England, which in times past by her virtue, as with a strong wall, was wont to be defended, and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered: At the supplication therefore of the whole clergy of our province of Canterbury, and by the consent and assent of all our brethren and suffragans, and other the prelates in this convocation assembled, and the proctors of them that are absent, lest the river being cleansed the fountain should remain corrupt, and so the water coming from thence should not be pure; intending most wholesomely to provide for the honour and utility of the holy mother the church, and the university aforesaid; we do ordain and decree, that every warden, provost, or master of every college, or principal of every hall, within the university aforesaid, shall once every month at the least diligently inquire in the said college, hall, or other place, where he hath authority, whether any scholar or inhabitant of such college or hall, &c. have holden, alleged, or defended, or by any means proponed, any conclusions, propositions, or opinion concerning the Catholic faith, sounding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the church, otherwise than appertaineth to necessary doctrine. And if he shall find any suspected or defamed herein, he shall according to his office admonish him to desist; and if, after such admonition given, the said party offend again in the same or such like, he shall incur, *ipso facto*, (besides the penalties aforesaid,) the sentence of greater excommunication. And nevertheless, if it be a scholar that so offendeth the second time, whatsoever he shall afterwards do in the said university, shall not stand in effect. And if he be a doctor, a master, or bachelor, he shall forthwith be suspended from any scholar's act, and in both cases shall lose the right that he hath in the said college, or hall, whereof he is, *ipso facto*; and by the warden, provost, master, principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and a Catholic by lawful means forthwith placed in his place. And if the said wardens, provosts, or masters of colleges, or principals of halls, shall be negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed, by the space of ten days, from the time of the true or supposed knowledge of the publication of these presents; that then they shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, and nevertheless shall be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all the right which they pretend to have in the colleges, halls, &c. and the said colleges and halls to be effectually vacant. And after lawful declaration hereof made by them to whom it shall

appertain, new wardens, provosts, masters or principals, shall be placed in their places, as hath been accustomed in colleges and halls being vacant in the said university. But if the wardens themselves, provosts, masters, or principals aforesaid, be suspected and defamed of and concerning the said conclusions or propositions, or be favourers and defenders of such as do therein offend, and do not cease, being thereof warned by us, or by our authority, or by the ordinary of the place; that then by law they be deprived as well of all such privilege scholastical within the university aforesaid, as also of their right and authority in such college, hall, &c. Besides other penalties aforementioned, and that they incur the said sentence of greater excommunication.

"But if any man, in any case of this present constitution, or any other above expressed, do rashly and wilfully presume to violate these our statutes in any part thereof, (although there be another penalty expressly there limited,) yet shall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the space of three years after (without hope of pardon) to obtain any ecclesiastical benefice within our province of Canterbury: and nevertheless, according to all his demerits and the quality of his excess, at the discretion of his superior, he shall be lawfully punished.

"And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, considering within ourselves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of heresy and offending the prince, as is avouched in divine laws; yet the fault is much unlike, and to offend the Divine Majesty requireth greater punishment than to offend the prince's majesty: and where it is sufficient (for fear of dangers that might ensue by delays) to convince by judgment the offender of the prince's majesty, proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict, not admitting proof by witnesses, and sentence definitive to be: we do ordain, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premises, and for the better reformation of the church divided and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently suspected in any of the cases aforesaid, or in any article of the Catholic faith, sounding contrary to good manners, by the authority of the ordinary of the place, or other superior, be cited personally to appear by letters, public messenger being sworn, or by edict openly set at that place where the said offender commonly remaineth, or in his parish church, if he have any certain dwelling house; otherwise, in the cathedral church of the place where he was born, and in the parish church of the same place where he so preached and taught: and afterward certificate being given,

that the citation was formally executed against the party cited, being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall be proceeded against him fully and plainly without sound or show of judgment, and without admitting proof by witnesses and other canonical probations. And also, after lawful information had, the said ordinary, (all delays set apart) shall signify, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforesaid; and further shall do according to justice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding.

"*Given at Oxford.*"

Who would not have thought, that by these laws and constitutions so substantially founded, so circumspectly provided, and so diligently executed, that the name and memory of this persecuted sort should utterly have been rooted up? And yet such are the works of the Lord, that the number and courage of these good men rather multiplied daily. For so I find in registers recorded, that the persons, whom the king and the Catholic fathers did so greatly detest for heretics, were in divers counties of this realm dispersed and increased.—The articles of whose faith were these which follow:

First, That the office of the holy cross (ordained by the whole church) celebrated, does contain idolatry.

They affirmed, That all who reverence and worship the sign of the cross, do commit idolatry, and are reputed idolaters.

That the true flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by the priest truly pronounced.

They affirmed, The sacrament of the altar to be sacramental bread, not having life, but only instituted for a memorial of Christ's passion.

That the body of Christ, which is taken on the altar, is a figure of the body of Christ as long as we see the bread and wine.

That any layman may preach the gospel in every place, and may teach it by his own authority, without the licence of his ordinary.

That it is sin to give any thing to the preaching friars, to the Minorites, to the Angustines, or the Carmelites.

That we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

That the confession of sins to the priest is not needful.

That every good man, though he be unlearned, is a priest.

That an infant, though it dies unbaptized, shall be saved.

That neither the Pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary, can compel any man to swear by any creature of God, or by the bible.

That the bishop, the simple man, the priest and layman, are of like authority, as long as they live well.

That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any prelate.

Notes of certain Parliamentary Matters passed in the Reign of King Henry IV.

Forasmuch as the Papists will not believe but that the jurisdiction of their father the Pope hath ever extended throughout all the world, as well here in England as in other places; therefore, speaking of the parliaments holden in this king's days concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of king Henry in his first year, and to the 27th article of the same; where they may read in the 10th objection laid against king Richard, in plain words, how that, forasmuch as the crown of this realm of England, and the jurisdiction belonging to the same, as also the whole realm itself at all times lately past, hath been at such liberty, and enjoyed such prerogative, that neither the Pope, nor any other out of the kingdom, ought to intrude himself nor intermeddle therein; it was therefore objected unto the aforenamed Richard II. for procuring the letters apostolical from the Pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certain statutes of his, and that his censures might be prosecuted against the breakers thereof. Which seemed then to the parliament to tend against the crown and regal dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of this the said our realm of England.—*Act. Parl. An.* 1. *Reg. Hen.* 4. *Act.* 27.

Furthermore, in the second year of the said king, this was required in the parliament: That all such persons as shall be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards, in the second year of Henry IV. may be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the sheriffs, or such like officers, neither that any havock be made of their goods. The king granted to their advice therein.

In the eighth year of this king's reign, it was likewise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as shall procure, or sue in the court of Rome any process touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shall incur the pain of the statute of provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard II. Whereunto the king granted, that the statutes heretofore provided should be observed.

Also, in the same parliament, there it was put up by petition, that the king might enjoy half the profits of every parson's bene-

fice who is not resident thereon. Thereunto the king answered, that the ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.

Likewise, in the said parliament it was required, that none do sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only to the king's courts.

In the next year following, which was the 9th of this king, another petition of the commons was put in parliament against the court of Rome, which here follows:

"The Commons do beseech, that forasmuch as divers provisors of the benefices of holy Church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular covetousness now newly imagined, to destroy those that have been long time incumbents in divers their benefices of holy Church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of provisions, relations, and other grants made to the same provisions of the said benefices, do pursue processes in the said court, by citations made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realm in deed against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents, through such privy and crafty processes and sentences of privation have lost their benefices, and others put in the places of the said incumbents, before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their benefices, through such processes, to their perpetual destruction and mischief. And forasmuch as this mischief cannot be holpen without an especial remedy be had by parliament; pleaseth it the king to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his subjects without their knowledge, through such citations out of the realm; and thereupon to ordain by the advice of the lords of this present parliament, that none presented be received by any ordinary unto any benefice of any such incumbent, for any cause of privation whereof the process is not founded upon citation made within the realm; and also that such incumbents may remain in all their benefices, until it be proved by due inquest in the court of the king, that the citations whereupon such privations are granted, were made within the realm: and that if such ordinaries, or such presented, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they and their procurators, fautors, and counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the statute made against provisors in the 13th year of the reign of the late Richard the Second, king of England, by process to be made, as is declared in the statute made against such provisors in the 27th year of the reign of king Edward, predecessor to our lord the king that now is, any royal licenses or grants in any manner to the contrary not-

withstanding; and that all other statutes made against provisors, and not repealed before this present parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points.

"That the king's council have power by authority of parliament, in case any man find himself grieved in particular, that he may pursue: and that the said council, by the advice of the justices, do right unto the parties. This to endure until the next parliament, reserving always unto the king his prerogative and liberty.

"Also that no Pope's collector thenceforth should levy any money within the realm for first-fruits of any ecclesiastical dignity, under pain of incurring the statute of provisions."

Besides, in the parliament holden the eleventh year of this king, the Commons put up a bill unto the king, to take the temporal lands out of spiritual men's possession. The effect of which bill was, that the temporalities inordinately wasted by men of the church, and which amounted to 322,000 marks per annum, might suffice to find to the king 15 earls, 1,500 knights, 6,200 esquires, and 100 alms-houses for the relief of poor people, more than at those days within England; and over all these aforesaid charges, the king might put yearly into his coffers, £20,000.

And over this, they alleged by the said bill, that over and above the said sum of 322,000 marks, divers houses of religion in England possessed as many temporalities as might suffice to find yearly 15,000 priests and clerks, every priest to be allowed for his stipend seven marks, per annum.

The Persecution of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord of Cobham.

In the mean time, an universal Synod was assembled at St. Paul's church in London by Thomas Arundel and the twelve inquisitors of heresies, whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before, to search out heretics, with all Wickliff's books, resorted unto them, who brought 246 conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said books. The names of the said inquisitors were these: 1. John Whitnam, a master in the new college; 2. John Langedon, monk of Christ's church in Canterbury; 3. William Ufford, regent of the Carmelites; 4. Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominics; 5. Robert Gilbert; 6. Richard Earthisdaile; 7. John Lucke; 8. Richard Snedisham; 9. Richard Feming; 10. Thomas Rotorbone; 11. Robert Ronbery; 12. Richard Crasdale.

These articles being brought in, they concluded that it was not possible for them to make whole Christ's coat without seam,

(meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue) unless certain great men were removed out of the way, which seemed to be the chief maintainers of the disciples of Wickliff. Among whom this noble knight, Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the general proctors to be the principal. Him they accused, first for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the diocese of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of the ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of arms, notwithstanding their synodal constitution made to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in belief of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image-worshipping, and of the ecclesiastical power, than the holy church of Rome had taught many years before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, process should be awarded against him, as a most pernicious heretic.

Some who were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but to make some previous preparation, considering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the king; their counsel was to know first the king's mind. This counsel was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop, Thomas Arundel, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straightways unto the king, then at Kensington, and there laid forth most grievous complaints against the said Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The king gently heard these blood-thirsty prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignity; notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stock and knighthood they should yet favourably deal with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without any rigour or extreme handling, reduce him again to the church's unity. He promised them also, that himself would seriously commune the matter with him.

Soon after, the king sent for the said Lord Cobham; and when he was come, he admonished him privately to submit himself to his mother the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom the Christian knight made this answer: "You, most worthy prince, I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you a Christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evil-doers, and for safeguard of them that be virtuous.—Unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto (as I have ever done) all that

I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever you shall, in the Lord, command me. But as touching the Pope, and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forsomuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their devilish decree, which they called the laws of holy church. Then the said archbishop, by the counsel of his other bishops and clergy, appointed to call before him Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appear to answer to such suspected articles as they should lay against him. So he sent forth his chief summoner, with a very sharp citation, unto the castle of Cowling, where he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the said summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his licence, and, therefore, he returned home again without executing his message.

Then the archbishop called one John Butler unto him, who was then the door-keeper of the king's privy-chamber; and with him he covenanted, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to pass under the king's name. Whereupon John Butler took the archbishop's summoner with him, and went unto Lord Cobham, shewing him that it was the king's pleasure that he should obey that citation; and so cited him fraudulently. Then said he to them in few words, *That he in no case would consent to those most devilish practices of the priests.* As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by public process or open commandment: and in all the haste possible, upon the Wednesday before the nativity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory to be set upon the great gates of the cathedral-church of Rochester, (which was but three miles from thence,) charging him to appear personally before him at Ledis, the 11th day of the same month and year, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken down soon after by such as favoured Lord Cobham, and so conveyed aside. After that, the archbishop caused new letters to be set up on the nativity-day of our Lady; which also were pulled down.

Then, forasmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at Ledis, (where he sat in consistory, as cruel as ever was Caia-

phas, with his court of hypocrites about him;) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falsely informed by his hired spies, that Lord Cobham had laughed him to scorn, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the church's power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood, (for of all these was he then accused,) in his madness, without just proof, did he openly excommunicate him. Yet not with all this was his fierce tyranny satisfied; but he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him the Saturday before the feast of St. Matthew the apostle, with these cruel threatenings added thereunto, That if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to strengthen himself towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay-power, by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostate, schismatic, and heretic, the troubler of the public peace, that enemy of the realm, and great adversary of all holy Church; for all these hateful names did he give him.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight, Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of Antichrist thus kindled against him; perceiving himself also compassed on every side with deadly dangers; he took paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a Christian confession or account of his faith, both signing and sealing it with his own hands. Wherein he also answered to the four principal articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to find favour at his hand. That confession of his was none other than the common belief or sum of the church's faith, called *The Apostles' Creed*, by all Christians then used, with a brief declaration upon the same.

The king would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. Then desired he in the king's presence, that a hundred knights and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which he knew would clear him of all heresies. Moreover, he offered himself, after the law of arms, to fight for life or death with any man living, Christian or Heathen, in the quarrel of his faith, the king and the lords of his council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness he protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should after the laws of God be ministered unto him, but that he would at all times with all meekness obey it. Notwithstanding all this, the king suffered him to be summoned personally in his own privy chamber. Then said the Lord Cobham to the king, That he

had appealed from the archbishop to the Pope of Rome: and, therefore, he ought, he said, in no case to be his judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he shewed it with all reverence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more displeased than before, and said angrily unto him, That he should not pursue his appeal; but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were by the Pope allowed. And then, whether he would or not, the archbishop should be his judge. Thus, there was nothing allowed that the Lord Cobham had lawfully before required. But forsomuch as he would not be sworn in all things to submit himself to the church, and so take what penance the archbishop would enjoin him; he was arrested again at the king's commandment, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keep his day (so was it then spoken) that the archbishop had appointed him before in the king's chamber.

Then caused he the aforesaid confession of his faith to be copied, and the answer also which he had made to the four articles propounded against him, to be written in the manner of an indenture, on two sheets of paper; that when he should come to his trial, he might give the one copy to the archbishop, and reserve the other to himself. As the day of examination was come, (which was the 23d of September,) Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, sitting in Caiaphas's room in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, with Richard Clifford, bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook, bishop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, brought personally before him the said Lord Cobham, and there left him for the time. Unto whom the archbishop said these words:

"Sir John, in the last general convocation of the clergy of this our province, ye were detected of certain heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable; whereupon ye were, in form of spiritual law, cited, and would in no case appear. In conclusion, upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding, we neither yet shewed ourselves unready to have given you absolution (nor yet do to this hour) would ye have meekly asked it."

Unto this the Lord Cobham shewed as though he had given no ear. But said he would gladly, before him and his brethren, make rehearsal of that faith which he held and intended always to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing indented, concerning the articles whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the archbishop when he had made an end thereof.

This answer to his Articles he delivered to the bishops. Then

counselled the archbishop with the other two bishops, and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him for the time to stand aside. In conclusion, by their assent and information he said thus unto him, "Come hither, Sir John. In this your writing are many good things contained, and right Catholic also, we deny it not: but ye must consider, that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And, therefore, ye must yet declare to us your mind more plainly. And thus, whether that ye hold, affirm, and believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done by the priest, remaineth material bread, or not?"

After certain other communications, this was the answer of the good Lord Cobham: That no otherwise would he declare his mind, nor yet answer unto his articles, than was expressly in his writing there contained. Then said the archbishop unto him, "Sir John, beware what ye do; for if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected against you, especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose, the law of the holy church is, That compelled once by a judge, we may openly pronounce you an heretic." Unto whom he gave this answer, "Do as ye shall think best, for I am at a point."

At last the archbishop counselled again with his other bishops and doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him what the holy church of Rome had determined in these matters; which determination, said he, ought all Christians both to believe and follow.

Then said the Lord Cobham unto him, That he would gladly both believe and observe whatsoever holy Church, of Christ's institution, had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to believe or do: but that the Pope of Rome, with his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of that church, had lawful power to determine such matter as stood not with his word throughout, that would he not, he said, at that time affirm. With this, the archbishop bade him to take good counsel till the Monday next following (which was the 25th day of September,) and then justly to answer specially unto this point, Whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, or not? He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his making answer. And all this was nothing else, but to blind the multitude with a show. The next day following, according to his promise, the archbishop sent unto him into the Tower this

foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and his unlearned clergy:

"The faith and determination of the holy church touching the blissful sacrament of the altar, is this: That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body. And the material wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christ's very blood. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, from thenceforth no material bread nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. How believe ye this article?

"Holy church hath determined, that every Christian man living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be confessed to a priest ordained by the church, if he can come to him.—How feel ye this article?

"Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy church of Rome; and he granted, that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, which we call now Popes of Rome; by whose power in churches particular he ordained prelates, as archbishops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more; unto whom Christian men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. How feel ye this article?

"Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places; and there especially to worship holy relics and images of saints, apostles, and martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome. How feel ye this article?"

When lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly at their ignorance. But then he considered, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answer; and therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring his Holy Spirit to assist him in his next answer.

When the 25th day of September was come, 1413, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, commanded his judicial seat to be removed from the chapter-house of St. Paul's to the Dominic friars, within Ludgate at London. And as he was there set with Richard, bishop of London, Henry, the bishop of Winchester, and Bennet, the bishop of Bangor; he called in unto him his council and his officers, with divers other doctors and friars. John Stephens and James Cole, also, both notaries, he appointed there purposely to write all that should be said or done. All these, with a great number more of priests, monks, canons, friars, parish-clerks, bell-ringers, and pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mocks and scorns, reckoning

him to be an horrible heretic, and a man accursed before God.

Then the archbishop called for a mass-book, and caused all these prelates and doctors to swear thereupon, that every man should faithfully do his office and duty that day.

After that came out before them Sir Robert Morley, knt. and lieutenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good Lord Cobham; there leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and answer.

Then said the archbishop unto him, "Lord Cobham, ye be advised, I am sure, of the process which we had unto you upon Saturday last. I said unto you then, That you were accursed for your contumacy and disobedience to the holy church; thinking that ye should with meekness have desired your absolution."

Then spake Lord Cobham, with a cheerful countenance, and said, "God said by his holy prophet, *I shall bless, where you curse.*"

The archbishop made then as though he had continued, "Sir, at that time I gently proffered to have absolved you, if you would have asked it; and yet I do the same, if ye will humbly desire it in due form and manner as holy church hath ordained."

Then said the Lord Cobham, "Nay, forsooth, will I not; for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it." And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and said, "I confess me here unto thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, O Lord, most grievously, in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many horribls sins: good Lord, I ask thee mercy." And therewith weepingly he stood up again, and said with a loud voice, "Lo! good people, lo! for the breaking of God's laws and his commandments, they never yet cursed me: but for their own laws and traditions, most cruelly do they handle me and other men. And therefore both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroyed." —See Jer. li.

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little ruffled; notwithstanding, he took courage, and examined Lord Cobham of his Christian belief. Whereunto Lord Cobham made this godly answer, "I believe fully and faithfully in the universal laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe."

Then demanded the archbishop an answer to that bill which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the day before, in manner of a determination of the church, concerning the

four articles whereof he was accused, specially for the sacrament of the altar, how he believed therein.

Whereunto Lord Cobham said, That with that bill he had nothing to do. But this was his belief concerning the sacrament: that his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper with his most dear disciples, the night before he should suffer took bread in his hand, and giving thanks to his eternal Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them, saying, "Take it unto you, and eat thereof all, this is my body which shall be betrayed for you: do this hereafter in my remembrance." This do I throughly believe, said he, for this faith am I taught in the gospel of Matthew, in Mark, and in Luke, and also in the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. xi.

Then asked the archbishop, If he believed that it were bread after the consecration, or sacramental words spoken over it?

Lord Cobham said, "I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, nailed to the cross, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven."

Then said one of the doctors of the law, "After the sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Christ."

Lord Cobham said then to one Mr. John Whitehead, "You said once unto me in the castle of Cowling, that the sacred host was not Christ's body. But I held then against you, and proved that therein was his body, though the seculars and friars could not therein agree, but held each one against the other in that opinion. These were my words then, if ye remember it."

Then shouted a number of them together, and cried with great noise, We say all, that it is God's body.

And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the consecration or not?

Then looked Lord Cobham earnestly upon the archbishop, and said, "I believe surely that it is Christ's body in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?"

And the archbishop said, "Yes, marry, do I."

Then the doctors asked him, Whether it were only Christ's body after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?

And he said unto them, "It is both Christ's body and bread: I shall prove it thus: for like as Christ dwelling here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only visible and seen in him: so in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread also, as I believe the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ (which is his

flesh and his blood) is thereunder hid, and not seen but in faith.

"And moreover, to prove that it is both Christ's body and also bread after the consecration, it is by plain words expressed by one of your own doctors, writing against Eutyches, who says, "Like as the self same sacraments do pass by the operation of the Holy Ghost into a divine nature, and yet notwithstanding keep the property still of their former nature; so that principal mystery declareth to remain one true and perfect Christ," &c.

Then smiled they each one upon another, that the people should judge him taken in a great heresy; and with great boasting divers of them said, It is a foul heresy.

Then asked the archbishop, what bread it was? And the doctors also inquired of him, whether it were material bread or not?

Lord Cobham said unto them, "The Scriptures make no mention of this word *material*, and therefore my faith has nothing to do therewith. But this I say and believe, that it is Christ's body and bread. For Christ says, in the sixth of St. John's gospel, "I which came down from heaven am the living bread." Therefore I say now again, as I said before, As our Lord Jesus Christ is very God and very Man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread."

Then said they all with one voice, It is an heresy.

One of the bishops stood up and said, What! it is an heresy manifest, to say that it is bread after the sacramental words be once spoken; but Christ's body only!

Lord Cobham said, "St. Paul the apostle was, I am sure, as wise as you are now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians; 'The bread that we break, (says he) is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?' Lo, he called it bread, and not Christ's body, but a mean whereby we receive Christ's body."

Then said they again, Paul must be otherwise understood. For it is sure an heresy to say that it is bread after the consecration, but only Christ's body.

Lord Cobham asked, "How they could make good that sentence of theirs?"

They answered him thus: For it is against the determination of holy church.

Then said the archbishop unto him, "Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed sacrament, clearly determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy doctors."

Then said he again unto him, "I know none holier than is Christ and his apostles. And as for that determination, I know

it is none of theirs; for it stands not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the Church's, as ye say it is, it hath been her's only since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not before."

Then asked they him, If he believed not in the determination of the church?

And he said unto them, "No, forsooth; for it is no God. In all our creed this word *in* is but thrice mentioned concerning belief: in God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God. The birth, the death, the burial, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, hath no *in* for belief, but in him. Neither yet hath the Church, the sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, nor any other *in*, than in the Holy Ghost."

Then said one of the lawyers, "Tush, that was but a word of office: but what is your belief concerning holy church?"

Lord Cobham answered, "My belief is, as I said before, that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them, I believe thoroughly: for I know it is God's pleasure that I should do so. But in your lorldly laws and idle determinations have I no belief: for ye are no part of Christ's holy Church, as your open deeds do shew; but ye are very Antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetousness."

This, they said, was an exceeding heresy not to believe the determinations of holy church.

Then the archbishop asked him, What he thought of holy church?

He said unto him, "My belief is, That the holy Church is the number of them which shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head.—Of this Church one part is in heaven with Christ, another in purgatory, you say, and the third is here on earth. This latter part stands in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the commonality; as I said before plainly in the confession of my belief."

Then said the archbishop unto him, "Can you tell me who is of the Church?"

Lord Cobham answered, "Yes truly can I."

Then said Dr. Walden, the prior of the Carmelites, "It is doubt unto you who is thereof: for Christ says in Matthew, *Presume to judge no man.* If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgment of your superior."

Lord Cobham made this answer, "Christ says also in the

self same chapter of Matthew, 'That like as the evil tree is known by its fruit, so is a false prophet by his works, appear they never so glorious:' but that ye left behind ye."

Then said Dr. Walden unto him, "Ye make here no difference of judgments; ye put no diversity between the evil judgments which Christ has forbidden, and the good judgments which he has commanded us to have."

Unto whom Lord Cobham thus answered: "Preposterous are your judgments evermore; for as the prophet Isaiah says, 'Ye judge evil good, and good evil.' And therefore the same prophet concludes, that your ways are not God's ways, nor God's ways your ways. And as for the virtuous man, Wickliff, whose judgment ye so highly disdain, I shall say here of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it has been otherwise, I trust, with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions."

Then said Dr. Walden, "It were not well with me, if I had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the devil preach. Saint Jerom says, That he who seeketh such suspected masters, shall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day devil."

Lord Cobham said, "Your fathers, the old pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and his doctrine to the devil. And you, as their natural children, have still the self-same judgment concerning his faithful followers. They that rebuke your vicious living, must needs be heretics; and that must your doctors prove, when you have no scripture to do it." Then said he to them all, "To judge you as you are, we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find, in all God's law, that you should thus sit in judgment on any Christian, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the Scripture so lordly, to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiphas, who sat thus upon Christ, and upon his apostles after his ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Christ's members as ye do, and neither of Peter nor John." Then said some of the lawyers, Yes, forsooth, sir, for Christ judged Judas.

Lord Cobham said, "No, Christ judged him not, but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth, and hanged himself; but indeed Christ said, Woe unto him! for that covetous act of his; as he does still unto many of you. For since his venom was shed into the church, ye never followed Christ, neither have ye stood in the perfection of God's law."

Then the archbishop asked him, what he meant by that venom?

Lord Cobham said, "Your possessions and lordships; for then cried an angel in the air, as your own chronicles mention, 'Woe, woe, woe! this day is venom shed into the church of God.' Before that time, all the bishops of Rome were martyrs in a manner; and since that time, we read of very few. But indeed since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, on hath cursed another, and one hath slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the chronicles tell. And let all men consider this well, that Christ was meek and merciful; the Pope is proud, and a tyrant. Christ was poor, and forgave; the Pope is rich, and a malicious man-slayer, as his daily acts do prove him. Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest come all his disciples. Of whom prelates, priests, and monks, are the body; these peeled friars are the tail, which covers his most filthy part."

Then said the prior of the Augustine friars, "Alack, sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken."

And Lord Cobham said, "Not only is it my saying, but also the prophet Isaiah, long before my time. 'The prophet (says he) who preacheth lies is the tail.' For as you friars and monks are, like pharisees, divided in your outward apparel and visages, so make ye divisions among the people. And thus you, with such others, are the very natural members of Antichrist."

Then said he unto them all, "Christ says in his gospel, 'Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for ye close up the kingdom of heaven before men, neither enter ye in yourselves, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it:' but ye stop up the ways thereunto with your own traditions, and therefore are ye the household of Antichrist; ye will not permit God's verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught by his true ministers, fearing to have your wickedness reproved. But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefs, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced."

Then said the archbishop, "By our Lady, sir, there shall none such preach within my diocese; and, God will, nor yet in my jurisdiction, if I may know it, as either make division, or yet dissention among the poor commons."

Lord Cobham said, "Both Christ and his apostles were accused of sedition-making, yet were they most peaceable men. But Daniel and Christ prophesied, that such a troublesome time should come, as has not been yet since the world's beginning. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings; for many have ye slain already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise. Christ says also, 'If those days of yours were not shortened, scarcely should any flesh be saved; therefore look for it justly, for God will shorten your days.

Moreover, though priests and deacons, for preaching of God's word, and for ministering the sacraments, with provision for the poor, be grounded on God's law, yet have these other sects no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read."

Then a doctor of law, called Mr. John Kemp, plucked out of his bosom a copy of the bill which they had before sent him into the Tower, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him. For they were so amazed with his answers, that they knew not well how to occupy the time; their wits and sophistry so failed them that day.

"My Lord Cobham, (said this doctor,) we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following. The faith and determination of holy church, touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, is this: That after the sacramental words are once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body, and the material wine is turned into Christ's blood; and so there remains in the sacrament of the altar from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. Sir, believe you not this?"

Lord Cobham said, "This is not my belief. But my faith is, that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar, is Christ's very body in form of bread."

Then said the archbishop, "Sir John, ye must say otherwise."

Lord Cobham said, "Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side, as I trust he is; but that there is Christ's body in form of bread, as the common belief is."

Then read the doctor again, "The second point is this: Holy church has determined, that every Christian man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven by a priest ordained by the church, if he can come to him. Sir, what say you to this?"

Lord Cobham answered and said, "A diseased or sore wounded man has need to have a sure, wise, and true chirurgeon, knowing both the ground and danger of the same. Most necessary was it, therefore, to be first shriven unto God, who only knows our diseases, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning; for the laws of God are to be required of the priest who is godly learned. But if he be an idiot, or a man of vicious living, that is my curate, I ought rather to flee from him, than to seek unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodness towards my soul's health."

Then read the doctor again, "The third point is this: Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here on earth, whose see is the Chuach of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter, should succeed unto all Peter's

successors, whom we now call *Popes* of Rome. By whose special power in churches particular are ordained prelates and archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more, to whom Christians ought to obey, after the laws of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir, believe ye not this?"

To this he answered and said, "He that follows Peter nearest in pure living, is next unto him in succession. But your lordly order esteem not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of Sylvester, who, for the most part, were martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt yourselves with them at all. All the world knows this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boast of Peter."

With that one of the doctors asked him, "Then what do ye say of the Pope?"

Lord Cobham answered, "As I said before, so I say again, that he and you together make whole the great Antichrist: of whom he is the great head; your bishops, priests, prelates, and monks, are the body; and the begging friars are the tail, (for they cover the filthiness of you both with their subtle sophistry:) neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you, with Peter, follow Christ in conversation."

Then read the doctor again, "The fourth point is this: Holy church has determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides approved by the Church of Rome. Sir, what say you to this?"

Whereunto he answered, "I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them fair from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up from catching of scathe, or else to bury them far in the ground, as ye do other aged people, who are God's images.

"It is a wonderful thing, that saints now being dead, should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, who all their life-time hated all covetousness and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your shrines and idols, your feigned absolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chief pleasures, of all Christian realms."

"Why, sir," said one of the clerks, "will ye not worship good images?"

"What worship should I give unto them?" said Lord Cobham.

Then said friar Palmer unto him, "Sir, will ye worship the cross of Christ that he died upon?"

"Where is it?" said Lord Cobham.

The friar said, "I put you the case, sir, that it were here even now before you."

Lord Cobham answered, "This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himself knows not where the thing itself is. Yet once again I ask you what worship I should do unto it?"

A clerk said unto him, Such worship as Paul speaks of, and that is this, "God forbid that I should joy, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ."

"Then, (said Lord Cobham, spreading his arms abroad) this is the very cross, yea, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created by God; yet will not I seek to have it worshipped."

Then said the bishop of London, Sir, ye know well that he died on a material cross.

Lord Cobham said, "Yea, and I know also that our salvation came not in by that material cross, but alone by him that died thereupon. And well I know, that holy St. Paul rejoiced in none other cross, but in Christ's passion and death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the self-same verity that he had suffered for before."

Another clerk yet asked him, Will ye then do none honour to the holy cross?

He answered him, "Yes, if it were mine own, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he would take no more scathe abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now-a-days."

Then said the archbishop unto him, Sir John, ye have spoken here many wonderful words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common sort here, to have us in the more disdain. Much time have we spent here about you, and all in vain, so far as I can see. Well, we must be now at this short point with you, for the day passes away: ye must either submit yourself to the ordinance of holy church, or else throw yourself into the most deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else too late.

Lord Cobham said, "I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me than ever I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude."

Then said the archbishop again unto him, We once again require you to remember yourself well, and to have none other manner of opinion in these matters, than the universal faith and belief of the holy church of Rome is. And so like an obedient child return again to the unity of your mother. See to it, I say, in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas anon it will be too late.

Lord Cobham said expressly before them all, "I will none otherwise believe in these points than that I have told you here before; do with me what you will."

Finally,—Then the archbishop said, Well then I see none other but that we must needs do the law; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for an heretic.

And with that the archbishop stood and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity veiling their bonnets. And this was the tenor thereof:

"In the name of God; so be it. We, Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, and legate from the apostolic see of Rome, will this to be known unto all men. In a certain cause of heresy, and upon divers articles, whereupon Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us in our last convocation of all our province of Canterbury, holden in the cathedral church of Paul's, at London, at the lawful denouncement and request of our universal clergy of the said convocation, we proceeded against him according to the law, (God to witness) with all the favour possible. And following Christ's example in all that we might, 'which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he might be converted and live;' we took upon us to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him again to the church's unity, declaring unto him what the holy and universal church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught, in that behalf. And though we found him in the catholic faith far wide, and so stiff-necked that he would not confess his error, not purge himself, nor yet repent him thereof; we yet pitying him, of fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seek to be reformed: but since that time we have found him worse and worse. Considering, therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law; and with great heaviness of heart we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive against him.

"Forasmuch as we have found by divers acts done, brought forth, and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signs, and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofs, the said Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics against the faith and religion of the holy and universal church of Rome: We sententially and definitively by this present writing judge, declare, and condemn, the said Sir John

Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious, detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church, committing him from henceforth as a condemned heretic, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not only this heretic here present, but so many else besides as shall hereafter in favour of his error either receive him or defend him, counsel him or help him, or any other way maintain him; as very fautors, receivers, defenders, counsellers, aiders, and maintainers, of condemned heretics."

After the archbishop had read the bill of his condemnation, before the whole multitude, Lord Cobham said, with a most cheerful countenance, "Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than Satan could to the soul of Job. He that created that, will, of his infinite mercy and promise, save it. I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God."

And therewith he turned him unto the people, casting his hands abroad, and saying with a very loud voice, "Good Christian people, for God's love, be well aware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindfold into hell with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you, 'If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.'"

After this he fell down upon his knees, and thus, before them all, prayed for his enemies, holding both his hands and eyes towards heaven, and saying, "Lord God eternal, I beseech thee, of thy great mercy's sake, to forgive my persecutors, if it be thy blessed will." And then he was delivered to Sir Robert Morley, and so led forth again into the Tower of London. And thus there was an end of that day's work.

While Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out privily unto his friends; and they, at his request, wrote this little bill here following, causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London, that the people should not believe the slanders and lies that his enemies, the bishops' servants, and priests, had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter:

"Forasmuch as Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, is untruly convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he should both otherwise think and speak of the sacraments of the Church, and especially of the blessed sacrament of the altar, than was written in the confession of his belief; which was in-

dented and taken to the clergy, and so set up in divers open places of the city of London: Known be it here to all the world, that he never since varied in any point therefrom, but this is plainly his belief, That all the sacraments of the Church be profitable and expedient also to them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true Church hath ordained. Furthermore, he believeth, That the blessed sacrament of the altar is verily and truly Christ's body in form of bread."

After this the bishops and priests were in great discredit both with the nobility and commons; partly for that they had so cruelly handled the good Lord Cobham; and partly again, because his opinion, as they thought at that time, was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways; wherefore they laid their heads together, and at the last consented to use another practice somewhat contrary to that they had done before. They caused it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed servants and friends, that Lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowly submitted himself in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of his opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

Thus you have here the judicial process of the bishops against this noble Christian knight. After all this, the sentence of death being given, the Lord Cobham was sent away, Sir Robert Morley carrying him again unto the Tower; where, after he had remained a certain space, in the night season (it is not known by what means, but thought by some to have been by the agency of Sir Robert Acton,) he escaped out, and fled into Wales, where he continued by the space of four years.

In the mean time, a great sum of money was offered by the king, to him who would take Lord Cobham either dead or alive. At the end of the four years mentioned above, he was apprehended by Lord Powis in Wales, and brought up bound to London, where on Tuesday, Dec. 14, 1417, he was sentenced to be carried from the Tower unto the new gallows in St. Giles, without Temple-bar, there to be hanged, and burnt while hanging.

Reader! behold the cruelty of this bloody persecuting church!—A man is condemned, hanged, and burned, for not believing what it is impossible for any soul of man to believe, that has the exercise of its reason. But why were such monstrous absurdities proposed? and why was the denying them persecuted

with *fire* and *faggot?* Because they brought *gain* to the church: and the indolent, avaricious, and christless priests, found it their interest to support them, and burn all who pretended to call them into question, or examine them either by the test of *revelation* or *reason*. The cruelty of this system, it is true, is at an end; because its *power* is ended: but restore the power, and multitudes of martyrs (should religion sufficient be found in the land) will have the honour of embracing the flames once more in Smithfield. O ye Britons! love and value your *constitution*. Know that it is opposed to popish ascendancy in the *state*, and to popish doctrine in the *church!* and consequently to barbarism, cruelty, and murder. But especially thank, love, and serve, that God, who has established *Protestantism* among you, and redeemed you from the iron hand of ignorance and oppression.

John Purvey, a learned man, wrote a commentary on the Revelation, wherein he proved the Pope to be Antichrist, and the whore of Babylon: he complained that many before him, who had impugned the Romish errors, had been imprisoned, killed, and their books burnt, and that none were suffered to preach, but such as would swear obedience to the Pope: for which he was imprisoned, and secretly made away there by the archbishop of Canterbury, in 1421.

In 1429, *Alexander Carpenter*, of Baliol College, wrote a book, wherein he sharply reproved the wicked lives of priests and prelates, calling them traitors to Christ, deceivers, thieves, liars, ravenors, oppressors, hypocrites, cursed tyrants, execrable Antichrists, &c.

Richard Wiche, Fellow of Wickam College, was burnt the same year for the like profession.

In 1433, *Peter Clark*, a divine of Oxford, defended publickly in the schools the doctrine of Wickliff, for which he was so persecuted, that he was forced to flee into Bohemia. From thence he went into France, and was chosen preacher to certain Christians at Melda; and in process of time sixty-two of his congregation were surprised, bound in carts, and sent to Paris, where fourteen of them were burnt, the rest tormented, and put to other deaths, or banished. Mr. Clark with his host, *Steven Mangris*, in whose house he used to preach, had first their tongues cut out, then were hanged, and afterwards burnt.

Peter Paine or *Peacock*, Fellow of All Souls in Oxford, for his constant preaching against the Roman Antichrist, was forced to flee into Bohemia to avoid the danger. From thence he with others was sent to the Council of Basil, where he defended his doctrine stoutly and learnedly fifty days together, in 1438.

In 1440, *John Felton*, of Magdalen College, taught the gospel purely, reproving the Pope's pride and tyranny.

Roger Oveley, a divine of Oxford, and chaplain to the Lady Elinor Cobham, the Duke of Gloucester's wife, wrote learnedly against the superstitions that were then in practice: and for attempting something with the said lady against the papacy, he with some of his friends were hanged and quartered at London, and the lady banished into the Isle of Man, in 1442.

Philip Norris, a divine of Oxford, inveighed bitterly against the monks and friars, calling them antichrists, wolves, thieves, traitors, swine, hypocrites, heretics, more pestilent and dangerous than the Arians, Pelagians, Donatists, Nestorians, or other heretics whatsoever; for which he was persecuted by the friars, who complained of him to Pope Eugenius the fourth, from whom he appealed to a general council, in 1446.

David Boyse, Fellow of Merton College, a witty and learned man, embraced and preached the sincere religion, for which he was hated and persecuted, in 1450.

In 1460, *John Capgrave*, Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, complained much of the ungodly tyranny of the prelates and priests, who like hirelings exposed their sheep to the wolves, seeking their wool and milk, but not the good of their souls, &c.

In 1470, *Henry Parker*, Fellow of All Soul's, preached at Paul's Cross against the pride and ambition of the prelates, and at the request of some good people, published his doctrine to the great disgrace of the prelates; for which he was cast into prison, where he lay long, and endured much want.

John Collet, a Divine of Oxford, and Dean of Pauls. He taught in Oxford that man's justification was by the mere grace of Jesus Christ: that images were not to be worshipped: that bishops not feeding their flocks are wolves, &c. Richard James, bishop of London, and some friars persecuted him for the same in 1507, which was but ten years before the rising of Martin Luther.

Thus we have seen in sundry passages of this story, and in many particular instances, that from the first planting of the gospel in this kingdom, which was presently after Christ's time, to the time of Luther, God preserved a true church, a true ministry, and true ordinances amongst his people of this land, in despite of the devil, and all his instruments: and though many times the saints of God were fain to hide themselves, and underwent grievous persecutions for the cause of Christ, yet God still preserved a seed alive, who when the storm was over, appeared again: and when corruptions and antichristianity had overspread the greatest part of the christian world, God from time to time raised up some in this nation to bear witness against the same, who loved not their lives to the death, that they might be found faithful to Christ, and his truth: and therefore Doctor Field in his Book of the Church, Book iii. Chap. 6, and 8. had good

reason to say thus: "Although we do acknowledge Wickliff, Huss, Jerom of Prague, &c. to have been the worthy servants of God, and holy martyrs suffering for the cause of Christ against Antichrist; yet we do not think that the Church was to be found only in them, or that there was no other appearance or succession of the church and ministry, as the papists falsely charge us: for we firmly believe that all the churches wherein our fathers lived and died, were the true churches of Christ, wherein salvation was to be found; and that they who taught, embraced, and believed those damnable errors which the Romanists now defend, were a faction only in the church; as were they that denied the resurrection, urged circumcision, and despised the apostles of Christ, in the churches of Corinth and Galatia."

Luther also, in his book against the Anabaptists saith, "That under the papacy there was much good, yea all Christian good, and that it came thence to us; as true Scriptures, true sacraments, a true ministry; a true catechism, wherein is the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Articles of the Christian Faith," &c.

Calvin in his *Institutions*, Book iv. Chap. 2, saith, "That God suffered not his Church to perish in France, England, &c. Though for men's ingratitude he suffered the building to be much rent and torn."

Beza in his Questions, saith, "The Church was under the papacy, but the papacy was not the Church." Master Perkins saith the like in his exposition of the Creed. So Morney, *De Ecclesia*, Chap. 9, with Bucer and Melancthon, teach the same.

The Martyrdom of John Claydon, Currier.

The 17th of August, 1415, did personally appear *John Claydon*, currier, of London, (arrested by the mayor of the said city on suspicion of heresy,) before Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, in St. Paul's church, which John did openly confess that he had been for the space of twenty years suspected both about the city of London, and also in the province of Canterbury, and especially by the common sort, for *Lollardy* and heresy, and to be contrary to the faith of the church of Rome.

Insomuch, that in the time of Robert Braybrook, bishop of London, deceased, he was for the space of two years committed to the prison of Conway, for the aforesaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the Fleet for three years. Out of which prison he, in the reign of Henry IV. was brought before the Lord John Scarle, then chancellor

to the king, and there did abjure all heresy and error. And the said John Claydon being asked by the said archbishop, whether he did abjure the heresy of which he was suspected before any other? did confess, that in a convocation at London in Paul's church, before Thomas Arundel, late archbishop, deceased, he did abjure all such doctrine, which they called heresy and error, contrary to the Catholic faith and determination of the church, and that he had not only left such articles and opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstain from all company that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither give aid, help, counsel, nor favour unto them.

And moreover, the said John was asked by the archbishop, whether ever he had in his house since his abjuration, any books written in English? Whereunto he confessed, that he had in his keeping many English books; for he was arrested by the mayor of the city of London for such books as he had, which books, as he thought, were in the mayor's keeping. Upon which the mayor did openly confess, that he had such books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worst, and the most perverse, that ever he did read or see; and one book that was well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand; and among the other books found with the said John Claydon, the mayor gave up the said book before the archbishop. Whereupon the said John Claydon, being asked by the archbishop if he knew that book, did openly confess, that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written at his own costs, for he spent much money thereupon since his abjuration.

Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same book? he did confess, that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read by one John Fuller. And being asked, whether he thought the contents of that book to be Catholic, profitable, good, and true, he answered, that many things which he had heard in the same book, were both profitable, good, and heathful to his soul; and, as he said, he had great affection to the said book, for a sermon preached at Horsaldowne, that was written in the said book. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his abjuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker, he did answer, Yea; for the said Richard Baker did come often to his house to have communion with him. And being asked, whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected and defamed of heresy, he did answer again, that he knew well the said Richard was suspected and defamed by many men and women in the city of London, as one whom they thought to be an heretic.

After that were read divers tracts found in the house of the

said John Claydon: out of which divers points were noted for heresies and errors, especially out of the book aforesaid, which book the said John Claydon confessed at his own costs to be written and bound; which book was entitled, *The Lanthorn of Light.* In which were these articles:

First, upon the text of the Gospel, how the enemy did sow the tares, there is said: That wicked Antichrist the Pope hath sowed among the laws of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authority, strength, nor value.

2. That the archbishops and bishops, speaking indifferently, are the seats of the beast Antichrist, when he sitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of errors and heresies.

3. That the bishop's licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beast, i. e. Antichrist; and therefore simple and faithful priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that Antichrist, and without licence.

4. That the court of Rome is the chief head of Antichrist, and the bishops are the body; and the new sects, that is, the monks, canons, and friars, all brought in, not by Christ but by the Pope, are the venomous and pestiferous tail of Antichrist.

5. That the church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful souls, which do and will keep their faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

6. That Christ did never plant private religions in the church; but whilst he lived in this world, he did root them out. By which it appeareth, that private religions are unprofitable branches in the church, and to be rooted out.

7. That the material churches should not be decked with gold, silver, and precious stones, sumptuously; but the followers of the humility of Jesus Christ ought to worship their Lord God humbly in mean and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the churches are now-a-days.

8. That there are two chief causes of the persecution of the Christians: one is, the priests' unlawful keeping of temporal and superfluous goods; the other is, the unsatiable begging of the friars.

9. That alms is not given virtuously nor lawfully, except it be given, first, to the honour of God; secondly, of goods justly gotten; thirdly, to such person as the giver thereof knoweth to be in Christian charity; and 4thly, to such as have need, and do not dissemble.

10. That the often singing in the church is not founded in the Scripture, and therefore it is not lawful for priests to occupy themselves with singing in the church, but with the study of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

11. That Judas did receive the body of Christ in bread, and his blood in wine. In which it doth plainly appear, that after consecration of bread and wine made, the same bread and wine that were before do truly remain on the altar.

12. That all ecclesiastical suffrages do profit all virtuous and godly persons indifferently.

13. That the pope's and the bishops' indulgences are unprofitable.

14. That the laity are not bound to obey the prelates, whatsoever they command, unless the prelates do watch to give God a just account of their souls.

15. That images are not to be sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for Christians to bow their knees to them, neither to kiss them, nor to give them any manner of reverence.

For which articles the archbishop, with other bishops, condemned the books as heretical, and burned them; and then, because they thought the said John Claydon to be forsworn and fallen into heresy, the archbishop did proceed to his definitive sentence against the said John, after this manner;

"*In the name of God, Amen.*—We, Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause of heretical depravity, and of relapse into the same, whereupon John Claydon, layman, of the province of Canterbury, was detected, accused, and denounced, and in the said our province of Canterbury publickly defamed: We do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in form as followeth. The name of Christ being invocated and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited, and confessed before us, also by divers signs and evidences, we have found the said John Claydon to have been, and to be, publickly and notoriously relapsed again into his former heresy, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being by us diligently searched, weighed, and pondered before, to the intent that the said John Claydon shall not infect others with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren Richard, bishop of London, John, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and Stephen, bishop of St. David's, and of other doctors as well of divinity as of both laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce, and declare the said John Claydon to be relapsed again into his heresy, which he before did abjure, finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgment, and so do leave him by these presents."

Thus John Claydon, receiving his judgment and condemnation of the archbishop, was committed to the secular power, and

by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, in Smithfield, where he was made a burnt-offering unto the Lord, in 1415.

Robert Fabian, and other chronologers who follow him, add also, that *Richard Turming*, baker, was likewise the same time burned with him in Smithfield.

Martyrdom of William Taylor.

In the first year of king Henry VI. was burned the faithful witness of Christ, *William Taylor*, a priest. Of this William Taylor we read, that in the days of Arundel he was first apprehended, and abjured. Afterwards, in the days of Henry Chicheley, about the year 1421, William Taylor appeared again in the convocation before the archbishop, being brought by the bishop of Worcester, and was accused of having taught at Bristol the following articles:

That whosoever hangeth any scripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the devil.

That only God is to be adored.

That the saints are not to be worshipped nor invocated.

Upon these articles William Taylor being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune upon the same, especially upon the second and third articles, in way of reasoning, and for argument's sake. And to justify his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought a paper, wherein were contained certain articles, and exhibited the same to the archbishop. When the archbishop, consulting with the bishops and other prelates what was to be done, delivered the writings unto Mr. John Castle, and John Rikinghale, the two vice-chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and to John Langdon, monk, of Canterbury. Who advising with themselves, returned them on Monday following, to the archbishops and prelates, as erroneous and heretical. Whereupon William Taylor was content to revoke the same, and for his penance was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

In the mean time, while William Taylor was in the custody of the bishop of Worcester, there passed certain writings between him and one Thomas Smith, priest, at Bristol, in which William Taylor replied against the said Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping saints. Which reply being brought to the bishop of Worcester, William Taylor was brought again before the public convocation of the clergy to answer his writings; which he would not, nor could not, deny to be his own.

This writing being delivered by the archbishop to the four

orders of friars of London, to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in these points:

1. That every prayer which is a petition for some supernatural gift, or free gift, is to be directed only to God.

2. That prayer is to be directed to God alone.

3. To pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.

Thus the verdict of these four orders being given up to the archbishop, there came down a writ from the king, directed to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, *De hæretico comburendo*, dated the first day of March, the first year of his reign; the copy whereof remaineth in the records of the Tower, beginning thus: *Rex Majori et Vice comitibus.*—Whereupon William Taylor, condemned as a relapse, first was degraded, and after to be burned, and so was committed to the secular power: who in Smithfield, the first day of March, with christian constancy, did consummate his martyrdom, 1422.

William White, being a follower of John Wickliff, and a priest, to be reputed amongst the number of them of whom the wise man speaketh, "He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud," &c. was well learned, upright, and eloquent. He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Joan; notwithstanding, he did not, therefore, cease from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by reading, writing, and preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury:

That men should seek for the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the pope, and his holiness, is nothing else but a devilish estate and heavy yoke of Antichrist, and, therefore, he is an enemy unto Christ's truth.

That men ought not to worship images, or other paintings.

That men ought not to worship the holy men who are dead.

That the Romish Church is the fig-tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That such as wear cowls, or are anointed, or shorn, are the lance-knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out, when the Lord shall come.

Upon which articles he stoutly and manfully witnessed the truth which he had preached. After this, he going into Norfolk with his wife Joan, and occupying himself busily in teaching and converting the people unto the true doctrine of Christ, by means

of the king's letter sent down for that purpose, he was apprehended, and brought before William, bishop of Norwich; by whom he was convicted and condemned for thirty articles, and was burned in Norwich, in September 1424.

William White and his wife had their abode with Thomas Moon, of Ludney. This man was of so devout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them: insomuch, that Margaret Wright confessed, that if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than to any other. When he was come unto the stake, thinking to speak to the people, to confirm them in the truth, one of the bishop's servants struck him on the mouth. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life, to the great grief of all the good men of Norfolk. Whose wife Joan, following her husband's steps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth; wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the said bishop.

John Beverley, a labourer, was accused by the vicar of Southreke, the parish-priest of Waterden, and a lawyer, and delivered unto master William Barnham, the bishop's commissary, who sent him to the castle of Norwich, there to be kept in irons: afterward being brought before the commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an oath, that every year afterwards he should confess his sins once a year to his curate, and receive the sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did: and for his offence was enjoined, that the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast on bread and water, and upon the Saturday to be whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tomelands, and by St. Michael's church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, having in his hand a two-penny wax candle, to offer to the image of the Trinity after he had done his penance. And forasmuch as he confessed that he had eaten flesh upon Easter-day, and was not shriven in Lent, nor received upon Easter-day, the judge enjoined him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, in Whitsun-week, having but one meal a day, of fish and other white meats; and after penance so done, he should depart out of the diocese, and never come there any more.

John Skilley, of Flixton, miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich, for maintaining the articles above-written, was thereupon convicted, and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration solemnly made, he had a severe sentence of penance pronounced against him: That as the said Skilley was convicted by his own confession, for maintaining the

articles before-written, and for receiving certain good and godly men into his house, as Sir William White, priest, and John Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretics, and had now abjured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by means of his opinions, he was enjoined for penance seven years imprisonment in the monastery of Langly, in the diocese of Norwich. And as in times past he used upon the Fridays to eat flesh, he was enjoined to fast on bread and water every Friday by the space of that seven years to come; and that by the space of two years next immediately after the seven years expired, every Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and every Maunday-Thursday, he should appear before the bishop, or his successor, or commissary, for the time being, in the cathedral church of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

Margery Backster, was the same year accused; against whom one Joan, wife of William Cliffland, was brought by the bishop, and compelled to depose, in form following:

First, That the said Margery Backster did inform this deponent, that she should in no case swear, saying to her in English, Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will sting, and, therefore, take heed you swear not, neither by God, neither by our Lady, neither by any other saint: and if ye do contrary, the bee will sting your tongue and venom your soul.

This deponent being demanded by the said Margery, what she did every day at church? she answered, that she kneeled down and said five Pater-nosters, in worship of the Crucifix, and as many Ave-Marias, in worship of our Lady. Whom Margery rebuked, saying, You do evil to kneel or pray to such images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in such churches, neither shall come down out of heaven, and will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a candle lighted and set under the cover of the font will give light by night to those who are in the church. Saying, moreover, in English, Senseless joiners of stocks, hew and form such crosses and images, and after that lewd painters gleer them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true cross of Christ, I will shew it you at home in your own house. Which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, stretching out her arms abroad, said to this deponent, This is the true cross of Christ, and this cross thou oughtest and mayest every day behold and worship in thine own house, and, therefore, it is but vain to run to the church to worship dead crosses and images.

This deponent, being demanded by the said Margery, how she believed, touching the sacrament of the altar? said, That

she believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be the very body of Christ in form of bread. To whom Margery said, Your belief is nought; for if every such sacrament were God, and the very body of Christ, there should be an infinite number of gods, because that a thousand priests and more do every day make a thousand such gods, and afterwards eat them, and void them out again. And therefore know for certainty, that by the grace of God it shall never be my god, because it is falsely and deceitfully ordained by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry, for it is only material bread.

Moreover, the said Margery said to this deponent, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called *St. Thomas*, was a false traitor, and *damned* in hell, because he injuriously endowed the churches with possessions, and raised up many heresies in the church, which seduce the simple people; and therefore, if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed: and those false priests that say that he suffered death patiently before the altar, do lie; for, as a cowardly traitor, he was slain in the church door, as he was flying away.

Moreover, this deponent saith, that the said Margery told her, that the cursed pope, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, and especially the bishop of Norwich, and others that support and maintain heresies and idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, shall shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them than that cursed man had, Thomas of Canterbury.

For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people with their false mammetries and laws, to extort money from the simple folk to maintain their pride, riot, and idleness. And know assuredly, that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them, which have most cruelly slain the children of God, father *Abraham* and *W. White*, a true preacher of the law of God, and *John Wadden*, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the said Caiaphas (the bishop of Norwich) and his ministers, which are members of the devil, before this time, if the pope had not sent over these false pardons unto those parties, which the said Caiaphas had falsely obtained, to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the church; which pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

The said Margery said to this deponent, that every faithful man and woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other days appointed for fasting by the church, and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats upon the said days and times; and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon Thursday at night on the fasting days, than to go to the market to bring

themselves in debt to buy fish; and that pope Silvester made the Lent.

That the said Margery said to this deponent, that William White was falsely condemned for a heretic, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution; where she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speak unto the people to instruct them, a devil, one of Bishop Caiaphas' servants, struck him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

This deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her that she should not go on pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

Also, this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her that she and Joan, her maid, would come secretly in the night to her chamber, and there she should hear her husband read the law of Christ unto them; which law was written in a book that her husband was wont to read to her by night, and that her husband is well learned in the Christian verity.

Also, that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Joan West, and that the said women is in a good way of salvation.

Also, that the said Margery said to this deponent, Joan, It appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you; and this deponent swore that she would never disclose it, without the said Margery gave her occasion. Then said Margery unto this deponent, If thou do accuse me unto the bishop, I will do unto thee as I did once unto a certain friar, a Carmelite, of Yarmouth, which was the best learned friar in all the country. Then this deponent desired to know what she had done to the friar: unto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said friar, rebuking him because he did beg, saying, that it was no alms to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the plough, and so he should please God more, than following the life of some of those friars. Then the friar required of the said Margery, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else; then the said Margery, as she affirmed to this deponent, declared to this friar the gospel in English, and then the friar departed from her. After this, the said friar accused the said Margery of heresy; and she understanding that the friar had accused her, accused the friar again, that he would have known her carnally; and because she would not consent unto him, the friar had accused her of heresy. And moreover, she said, that her husband would have killed the friar therefore: and so the friar for fear held his peace, and went his way for shame.

This Margery also said, That she had oftentimes been feignedly confessed to the dean of the Fields, because he should think her to be a woman of good life: and therefore he gave the said Margery oftentimes money. Then this deponent asked her, whether she had confessed her sins to a priest or not? And she answered, that she had never offended any priest, and therefore she would never confess herself to any priest, neither obey him, because they have no power to absolve any man from their sins, for that they offend daily more grievously than other men; and therefore that men ought to confess themselves only unto God, and to no priest.

That the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship devils which fell from heaven with Lucifer, which devils, in their fall to the earth, entered into the images which stand in the churches, and have long lurked and dwelt in them, so that the people, worshipping those images, commit idolatry.

She said also to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force: and that the bells are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicate which first ordained them.

Moreover, that she should not be burned, although she were convicted of Lollardy, for that she had a charter of salvation in her body.

Also, the said deponent saith, that Agnes Barthem, her servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the Saturday after Ash-Wednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a brass pot standing over the fire, with a piece of bacon and oatmeal seething in it, as the said Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were also, besides this deponent, divers other sworn and examined upon the said Margery, as John Grimly and Agnes Barthem, servant to William Chiffland, which altogether confirmed the former depositions.

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning Margery Backster, which we have gathered out of the old monuments and registers. But what became of her after this, we are not able to declare. Probably she was privately despatched by that murderous party; for it could not consist with the interest of the profligate priests, to permit a person of so much penetration and sound judgment to go unmolested.

The same year also were the like depositions made by one William Wright against divers good men:

First, this deponent saith, that *William Taylor* told John Piry, of Ludney, that all the good men of Martham, who were favourers and helpers to that good man, William White, are

evil troubled now a days, and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor.

That *Nicholas Belward*, son of John Belward, dwelling in the parish of Southelam, is one of the same sect, and hath a New Testament, which he bought at London for *four marks and forty pence*, (about £2. 16*s.* 8*d.* equal to eight guineas in the present day) and taught the said William Wright, and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament.

William Bate, tailer, of Sething, and his wife and his son, who can read English very well, are of the same sect.

John Pert, late servant of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought Sir Hugh Pie into the company of the Lollards, which assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Moon, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

Sir Hugh Pie bequeathed to Alice, servant to William White, a New Testament, which they then called the book of the new law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

The said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of the Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed; notwithstanding, at length the Lollards shall prevail, and have the victory over all their enemies.

John Burrel, servant to Thomas Moon, of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresy the 9th day of September, 1430, and examined by Mr. William Bernham, the bishops commissary, upon the articles before mentioned, and divers others.

Imprimis, That the Catholic Church is the soul of every good Christian man.

That no man is bound to fast in Lent, or other fasting days appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests; and that every man may eat flesh or fish upon the same days indifferently, according to his own will, and every Friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

That pilgrimages ought not to be made, but only unto the poor and the sick, to relieve them.

That it is not lawful to swear, but in case of life and death.

That masses and prayers for the dead are but vain; for the souls of the dead are either in heaven or hell; and there is none other place of purgatory but this world.

Upon which articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the others before had done.

Thomas Moon, of Ludney, was apprehended for suspicion of heresy, against whom were objected by the bishop the articles before written, but specially this article, That he had communication with divers heretics, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained, divers of them, as Sir William White, Sir Hugh Pie, Thos. Pet, and Wm. Callis, priests, with many more; upon which articles he being convicted before the bishop, was forced to abjure, and received the like penance in like manner as before.

In like manner, *Robert Grigges*, of Martham, was brought before the bishop the 17th of February, for affirming as follows:

That the sacrament of confirmation, ministered by the bishop, did avail nothing to salvation.

That it was no sin to withstand the ordinances of the Church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and water were the worse for the conjurations and characters which the priests made over them.

Which articles he was forced to abjure, and received penance as the other had done before him.

John Finch, of Colchester, who, though he was of the diocese of London, being suspected of heresy, was arrested in Ipswich, in the diocese of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there; before whom being convicted, was enjoined penance, three *disciplinings* in solemn procession, about the cathedral church of Norwich three several Sundays; and three disciplinings about the market-place of Norwich three principal market-days, his head, and neck, and feet, being bare, and his body covered only with a short shirt or vesture, having in his hand a taper of wax of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinity; and that for the space of three years after, every Ash-Wednesday and Maundy Thursday, he should appear in the cathedral church of Norwich, before the bishop, or his vicegerent, to do open penance amongst the other penitentiaries, for his offences.

About the same time, 1430, *Richard Hovedon*, a wool-winder, and citizen of London, received the crown of martyrdom. Who, when he could by no means be brought to abjure the opinions of Wickliff, was, by the rulers of the church, condemned for heresy; and, as Fabian writes, burned hard by the tower of London.

In the year 1431, one *Nicholas Canon*, of Eye, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, for suspicion of heresy, with certain witnesses sworn to depose against him touching his manners and conversation, which witnesses appointing one William

Christopher to speak in the name of them all, he deposed as follows:

First, That on Easter-day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye in solemn procession, the said Nicholas Canon, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession. This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

The said Nicholas asked of Master John Colman, of Eye, this question: Master Colman, what think you of the sacrament of the altar? To whom the said Colman answered, I think that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the form of bread and wine. Unto whom Nicholas in derision said, Truly, if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, then may very God and very man be put into small room; as when it is in the priest's mouth that receiveth it at mass. And why may not we, simple men, eat flesh upon Fridays and all other prohibited days, as the priest to eat the flesh and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently?

That on Corpus-Christi day, at the elevation of high mass, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the sacrament, the said Nicholas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high-altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he also acknowledged, affirming that he believed himself to do well in so doing.

When his mother would have the said Nicholas to lift up his right hand, and to cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the devil, forsomuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother took up his right hand and crossed him, saying, *In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.* Which so ended, the said Nicholas immediately derided his mother's blessing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his adversaries report of him.—This article the said Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

That upon Allhallows-day, in the time of elevation of high mass, when as many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the sacrament, the said Nicholas carrying a torch went up hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priest's back saying mass, at the time of the elevation he stood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face towards the people, and would do no reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf.

All which articles the bishop's commissary caused to be tran-

scribed, and a copy of them to be sent to Master William Worsted, prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity of the order of begging friars, that they might deliberate upon them, and shew their minds between that and the Thursday following. Upon which Thursday, being the last of November, the said Nicholas was again examined before Master Barnham and divers others, upon two other articles which he had confessed unto J. Excetor, notary, and Thomas Gerusten, bachelor of divinity, and others.

In fine they pronounced him a heretic, and forced him to abjure the above mentioned articles. After which, they obliged him to submit to to the penance of three disciplinings about the cloisters of the cathedral church of Norwich, bareheaded and barefoot, carrying a taper of half a pound in his hand.

In 1447, the Duke of Gloucester, who was son to King Henry the Fourth, brother to King Henry the Fifth, and uncle to King Henry the Sixth, was chosen Protector in his nephew's minority. He was of a meek and gentle disposition, a lover of the Commonwealth, a supporter of the poor Commons, wise, discreet, studious, a lover of religion, a friend to virtue, and an enemy to pride, especially in the clergy, which made him to be much hated of them, and in the end brought him to an immature death. His learning was rare and memorable, and his discreet wisdom no less exemplary; whereof take this instance:—The king in his minority, being under the government of this good duke, was to go to St. Albans, against which time a beggar with his wife, were suborned to come thither by the bishops, where he begged up and down five or six days before the king's coming, saying, that he was born blind, and never saw in all his life, and that he was warned in a dream to come from Berwick, where he had always lived, to St. Albans, from whom he should receive his sight, but having been at his shrine he yet remained blind, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other place. But when the king was come, and the town full of his retinue, this blind beggar going again to the saint's shrine, had his sight restored to him. This miracle was much observed by the popish clergy, and a *Te Deum* solemnly sung, and nothing was talked of in the town but this miracle. Duke Humphrey hearing of it, sent for the beggar, and shewed himself joyful for the recovery of his sight, exhorted the man to humility, and to thankfulness to God for restoring his sight, &c. and then looking upon his eyes, asked him if he had never seen any thing in his life before? The beggar and his wife both answered, No. "I believe you, (said the duke,) for I think you cannot see well now." "Yes, (said the beggar,) I thank God and his holy martyr, I can now see as well as any man." "What colour then, (said the duke,)

is my gown?" The beggar told him; as also the several colours of other men's gowns, naming all the colours to the duke: whereupon the duke bid him be gone like a traitor, for if he had been blind always, how knew he so readily the names of all colours? but this more exasperated the prelates against him. Amongst his enemies, Henry Beauford, cardinal, and bishop of Winchester, was the chief; who, drawing to his side William de la Pool, Duke of Suffolk, and the Duke of Buckingham, they conspired with the queen to deprive him both of honour and life. For which end a parliament was summoned to be kept at Bury, far from the citizens of London, who much loved the Duke of Gloucester. And when the lords and commons were met, and amongst them the duke, neither thinking harm to others, nor suspecting danger to himself; the second day after the parliament began, the Lord Beaumont, then High Constable of England, accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham and some others, arrested the Duke of Gloucester, and put him into ward, which caused much murmuring amongst the people; and the next night after, he was found dead in his bed, being, as it was commonly reported, smothered between two feather-beds, having prudently governed this realm for the space of twenty-five years. But God's judgments followed all the contrivers and actors of this murder. The queen, who thought hereby to preserve the honour of her husband, and her own state, on the contrary lost her husband, and he lost his kingdom, and the kingdom lost Anjou, Normandy, Aquitaine, and all they held in France, except Calais. The year after, the cardinal, the chief contriver of the duke's martyrdom, was stricken by God with an incurable disease; who hearing that he must needs die, murmured and grudged exceedingly, that having so much riches he must yet leave all; saying, that if the whole realm would purchase his life, he was able either by his policy to get it, or by his money to buy it; therefore, said he, Fie, will not death be bribed; will money do nothing? &c. The Duke of Suffolk also did not long escape unpunished, for in a parliament he was accused as a traitor to the kingdom, a murderer of the Duke of Gloucester, and a robber of the king's treasure: for which the king at last was forced to banish him for five years, thinking that in that space the people's hatred of him would be allayed. The duke took shipping in Suffolk, intending to go into France, but being presently encountered by a man of war belonging to the tower, was taken and carried into Dover Road, where on a side of a ship boat one struck off his head, in 1450; and thus God suffered not the innocent blood of that good Duke of Gloucester to go unpunished.

Not long before the duke's death, he had complained to the

king his nephew, of sundry injuries which the Cardinal of Winchester had done, not only to him, but to the king and the whole kingdom; which he put into writing in twenty-four articles, and presented them to the king. King Henry committed the examination thereof to his counsel, who (being for the most part clergymen) the business was shuffled up, and the duke entrapped, as we have heard. To aggravate his affliction, they accused his religious duchess, the Lady Elinor Cobham, of witchcraft and treason; as if to advance her husband to the crown, she had practised by sorcery and inchantment to destroy the king's person. And hereupon they enjoined her in a disgraceful manner to go through Cheapside with a taper in her hand, and to do penance in three public places of the city, and afterwards to be committed to perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man, under the custody of Sir John Stanley, Knt.

During the life time of the Duke of Gloucester, there was one *Rainold Peacock*, who publickly in the Universities disputed against Annats, Peter-pence, and other the jurisdictions of the See of Rome, freely declaring his judgment about the same; and was protected therein by the said duke, but after the duke's death he was persecuted by the prelates and their instruments. He was a very learned man, translated much of the Scriptures into English, and wrote many books. The duke made him first his chaplain, then Bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester. The archbishop summoned him to appear before him. When he came, the archbishop with divers other bishops, laboured by all means either to reduce him or destroy him: many terrible menaces and threatenings they gave him; many fair and flattering promises they made to him, so that at the last they drew a recantation from him: yet afterwards, through God's mercy, he recovered and repented of his recantation, for which he was cast into prison, and at length was condemned for an heretic, and as the report went, was privily in prison made away.

It is observed, that from the time of King Richard the Second, in every king's reign that succeeded him, there was some good man or other that suffered martyrdom by burning at a stake.

After the burning of Babram, in Norfolk, another aged man, mentioned in an old chronicle borrowed of one in the Tower, entitled *Polychron*, suffered the pains of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was the year of our Lord 1500.

This aged father, I suppose, is he of whom mention is made in certain old papers and records of William Cary, citizen, That on the 20th day of July, 1500, upon the day of St. Margaret, there was an old man burnt in Smithfield for a heretic, and the

same person, upon the tenth day before he was burnt, would have stolen out of the Lollards' Tower, but falling down did sadly hurt himself: whereupon he was carried in a cart to be burnt.

In the aforesaid ancient record is declared, how in the year 1499, in the time of one Percival, many were taken for heretics in Kent, and at Paul's Cross they bore faggots, and were abjured; and shortly after, the same year, there went thirteen Lollards before the procession in Paul's, and there were of them eight women and a young lad, and the lad's mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bore faggots on their necks before the procession.

In the days of King Henry VII. anno 1506, in the diocese of Lincoln, in Buckinghamshire, William Smith being bishop of the same diocese, one *William Tylsworth* was burned in Amersham, in a close called Stanley. At which time one Joan Clerk, being married, and the only daughter of the said William Tylsworth, a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father: and at the same time her husband, John Clerk, did penance at her father's burning, and bore a faggot; as did also twenty-three men and women besides.

About the same time of the burning of W. Tylsworth, one father *Roberts* was burned at Buckingham; he was a miller, and dwelt at Missenden. And at his burning there were about twenty persons that were compelled to bear faggots, and to do such penance as the wicked pharisees did compel them. About the space of two or three years after, at Amersham, *Thomas Bernard*, a husbandman, and *James Mordon*, a labourer, were burned both at one fire; and there was *William Littlepage*, compelled to be burned in the right cheek; and father *Rogers*, and father *Rever*, alias *Reive*, which after was burned. This father Rogers was in the bishop's prison 14 weeks, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and irons, that after his coming out of the said prison he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived. Also there were thirty more burned in the right cheek, and obliged to bear faggots the same time. The cause was, that they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the Holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheek was this:—Their necks were tied fast to a post or stay with towels, and their hands holden fast that they might not stir, and so the iron being hot, was put to their cheeks; and thus they bore the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them.

Among these who were so cruelly persecuted for the gospel of Christ, *Thomas Chase*, of Amersham, was one: which Thomas Chase, was a man of a godly, sober, and honest behaviour, and

could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against them. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and brought him before the bishop, being at that time at Woburn, in the county of Buckingham. He was asked many questions touching the Romish religion, and then put in the bishop's prison, called *Little Ease*, in the bishop's house at Woburn. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painfully with chains, oftentimes sore pined with hunger, where the bishop's alms was daily brought unto him by his chaplains; which alms was nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings, floutings, and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr took most quietly, having respect to Christ's promises, Matt. v. "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:" and as followeth, "Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you," &c. When the bishop, with his band of shavelings, perceived that by their daily practises of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christ's true religion, and that he did bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty, they contrived how they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult among the people. And as *Richard Hun* shortly after was strangled in Lollards' Tower, about the year of our Lord 1514, even so these blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and prest to death this said Thomas Chase in prison, who called on God to receive his spirit; as witnesseth a certain woman that kept him in prison.

After these stinging vipers, being of the wicked brood of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits' end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shameful murder: at last, to blind the ignorant people, these bloody butchers most slanderously caused it to be noised abroad, that Thomas Chase had hanged himself in prison: which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the prison was such that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease, but stooping. And besides that, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot. And yet these holy Catholics had not made an end of their wicked act in thus killing and slandering of this godly martyr; but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland Wood, in the highway betwixt Woburn and Little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen.

After the martyrdom of T. Chase, I read also of one *Thomas Norris*, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profes-

sion of Christ's gospel, was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March, in 1507.

Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament, in the days of king Henry VII. was a comely and tall personage, for which the bishop was the more loath to burn him, but kept him in prison the space of two years. Laurence had a wife and seven children: wherefore, they thinking to pervert his mind, by stirring of his fatherly affection towards his children, when the time came which they had appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and seven children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in others, yet in him religion overcoming nature made him to remain immoveable, in such sort, as when his wife exhorted him to favour himself, he desired her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running towards the mark of his salvation: and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself, to follow Christ. While he was burning, one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face; whereat the brother of Laurence, standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise stayed.

But amongst all, I cannot tell, if ever any martyrdom was more admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of God's mighty power and judgment hath been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman put to death in Chipping-Sodbury, about the same time, under the reign of king Henry VII.

The constancy of which blessed woman, is glorious for all Christians to behold; so the example of the bishop's chancellor, who cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors, as a warning, which the living God grant they may take. *Amen.*

The name of the woman is not known; the name of the chancellor who condemned her was Dr. Whittington.

After this martyr of Christ, was condemned by the wretched chancellor, Dr. Whittington, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the papists called heresy, and the time come when she should be brought to the place of martyrdom, a great multitude were gathered to behold her end; amongst whom was Dr. Whittington, the chancellor.

The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened that a certain butcher was slaying a bull, which he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher (not so skilful in his art of killing beasts as the papists are

in murdering Christians) as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low: the bull, not stricken down, but greatly irritated with pain, brake loose from the butcher into the street, the very same time as the people were coming in great press from the burning. Who seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild, gave way for the beast, every man shifting for himself as well he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the chancellor was; against whom the bull, ran full butt with his horns, and taking him upon the paunch gored him through, and so killed him immediately, carrying his intestines, and dragging them with his horns all over the street, to the great admiration of all them that saw it.

Although the carnal sense of man be blind in considering the works of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly appertain to God's particular providence; yet in this so strange and so evident example, what man can be so dull or ignorant, who seeth not a plain miracle of God's mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abstain from the like cruelty?

In the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth, *John Southake*, *Richard Butler*, *John Sam*, *William King*, *Robert Durdant*, and *Henry Woolman*, were charged by the papists with speaking words against the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. But the last five persons were particularly charged with reading certain *English* heretical books, accounting the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to be of that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar-general unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against the said Richard Butler; the very words of which article I have thought good here to insert, which are these: "Also we object to you, that divers times, and especially upon a certain night, about the space of three years last past, in Robert Durdant's house of Yuer-Court, near unto Staines, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant's, all that same night, certain chapters of the Evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, and divers other suspected persons of heresy, then being

present, and hearing your said erroneous lectures and opinions." The tenor of some of the articles propounded against the other four, was to the same effect. Whereby we may easily judge what reverence they, who call themselves the true and only Church of Christ, bore to the word and gospel of Christ, who were not ashamed to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy. But why should we marvel at this, seeing the Holy Ghost in sundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter days there should come such proud and cursed speakers, which shall speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences seared as with an hot iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us also pray him, that of his free mercy in his Son Christ Jesus, he would either turn and mollify all such hearts, or else, for the peace and quietness of his Church, in his righteous judgment take them from us.

About the same time there were certain articles objected against *John Higges*, alias *Nøke*, alias *Johnson*, by the said bishop's vicar-general, amongst which were these:—First, That he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a book of the four Evangelists in English, and did often read therein; and, that he favoured the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing, that Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies; and, that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said, that while he was alive, he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayers and alms-deeds could not help him.

These and such like matters were they wherewith these poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heinous heretics excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant; and some of them in utter shame and reproach (besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the cross in procession, or else at a sermon) were enjoined for a penance, as they termed it, as well to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves, or other part of their outward garment, and that during their lives, or so often and as long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint.

In searching the register, for the collection of articles before recited, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others. Of which number were *William Sweeting*, and *John Brewster*, who were both burned together in Smithfield the 18th day of October, in the year of our Lord

1511. The chiefest case of religion alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which, because it differed from the absurd opinion of the new schoolmen, was counted as most heinous heresy. There were other things besides objected against them, as the reading of certain forbidden books, and conversing with such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at their first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse, until they had permission so to do.

The occasion of the first trouble of *John Brown*, was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge.—John Brown, being the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him; whereupon, after certain communication, the priest asked him, "Dost thou know who I am? thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes." "No, sir, (said he) I know not what you are." "I tell thee, I am a priest." "What, sir, are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No, I am a soul-priest; I sing for a soul," said he. "Do you so, sir, that is well done; I pray you, sir, where find you the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done: how can you then save the soul?" said he. "Go thy ways, (said the priest) thou art an heretic, and I will be even with thee."

So at the landing, the priest, taking with him Walter More and William More, two gentlemen, rode straightways to the archbishop Warham. Whereupon the said John Brown within three days after, his wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to Canterbury; neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his friends, knowing whither he went: and there continuing from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday, his wife not knowing all this while where he was, he was set in the stocks over night, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, in 1517.

The same night, as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he was burned: to whom he declaring the whole story how he was handled, shewed how he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bone. And told her, that by the two bishops, Warham and

Fisher, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, to make me (said he) deny my Lord; which I will never do: for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thee, therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God. And so the next day, on Whitsunday even, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, he made this prayer, holding up his hands:

"O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
Grant me mercy for my trespass;

"Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth."

And so he ended.

This blessed martyr, John Brown, had borne a faggot seven years before, in the days of king Henry the Seventh.

The cruel Murder of Richard Hunne, by Dr. Horsey, Chancellor of the Bishop of London, and other Papists.

In the year of our Lord 1514, one *Richard Hunne*, merchant-tailor, dwelling in the city of London, was esteemed, and worthily reputed, not only for a man of true dealing and good substance, but also a good Catholic man. This Richard Hunne had a child at nurse in Middlesex, in the parish of St. Mary Matfilon, which died: one Thomas Dryfield, clerk, being parson of the said parish, sued Richard Hunne in the spiritual court for a bearing-sheet, which Thomas Dryfield claimed unjustly, for a mortuary for Stephen Hunne, son of Richard Hunne; which Stephen died, at the age of five weeks, and not above. Hunne answered him again, That forasmuch as the child had no propriety in the sheet, he neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the priest, moved with covetousness, and loath to lose his pretended right, cited him to appear in the spiritual court, there to answer the matter. Richard Hunne, being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law of this land, and pursued a writ of *Præmunire* against the said Thomas Dryfield, and other counsellors, and adherents, as by the process thereof is yet to be seen. When the rest of the priestly order heard, disdaining that any layman should so boldly enterprise a matter against them, and fearing if they should suffer this priest to be condemned at the suit of Hunne, there would be a liberty opened unto all others of the laity to do the like with the rest of the

clergy in such cases; straightways, to stop this matter, and also to be revenged of him, sought all means to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws. Thereupon making secret and diligent inquisition, at length they found means to accuse him of heresy unto Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London; who (desirous to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains) caused him to be apprehended, and committed to prison within the Lollards' Tower, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him.

Shortly after, at the earnest instigation of Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, he was brought before the bishop at his manor of Fulham, the 2d day of December, where he examined him upon the articles following:

1. That he had read, taught, and obstinately defended, against the laws of Almighty God, that tithes, or paying of tithes, was never ordained to be due, saving only by the covetousness of priests.

2. That he had read, taught, and obstinately defended, that bishops and priests be the scribes and pharisees that did crucify Christ, and condemn him to death.

3. That he had read, preached, &c. that bishops and priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the law of God, but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.

4. Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies, (as it appeareth by her abjuration) the said Richard Hunne, published, preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him 500 marks.

5. Afterwards, when the said Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance according to her demerits, the said Richard Hunne taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, the bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions be according to the laws of God: wherefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she is.

6. That the said Richard Hunne hath in his keeping divers English books, prohibited and damned by the law; as the Apocalypse in English, Epistles and Gospels in English, Wickliff's damnable Works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been a long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.

This examination ended, the bishop sent him back again the same day to the Lollards' Tower; and then, by the appointment

of Dr. Horsey, his chancellor, he was committed from the custody of Charles Joseph, the sumner, unto John Spalding, the bell-ringer, a man by whose simpleness of wit, though otherwise wicked, the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish purpose the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did, within two nights following, as is plainly proved by the verdict of the coroner of London and his inquest.

The next morning after they had committed this murder, Spalding got out of the way into the city, and leaving the keys of the prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the sumner's boy, who used to carry Hunne his meat and other necessaries. The boy the same morning, being the fourth of December, having the keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of the bishop's sumners, went about ten o'clock into the prison, to serve the prisoner, and when they came up, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they gave information thereof immediately to the chancellor; who forthwith got unto him certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see that which his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, although then he blazed abroad among the people, by his officers and servants, that Hunne had hanged himself. Howbeit, the people having good experience, as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, as also of the devilish malice of his adversaries the priests, judged rather that by their procurement he was secretly murdered. Whereof arose great contention; for the bishop of London on the one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly that Hunne had hanged himself; the citizens again on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret murder, caused the coroner of London, according to law, to choose an inquest, and to take good view of the dead body, and so to try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the bishop and his chaplains were driven to extremity: and minding by some subtle shew of justice to stop the mouths of the people, they determined, that whilst the inquest was occupied about their charge, the bishop should for his part proceed *ex officio*, in case of heresy, against the dead person; supposing, that if the person were once condemned of heresy, the inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former suspicion of privy murder. This determination of their's they did immediately put in practice.

They framed certain articles against him, which they affirmed were objected against him in his life time; and condemned the dead body of heresy, and delivered it to the secular power. They desired that it should be burned accordingly; which ridi-

culous and wicked decree was executed on this murdered man, in Smithfield, December 20, 1514, sixteen days after they had dispatched him in the prison!

Notwithstanding their fair and colourable shew of justice, yet the inquest no whit stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause of his death. Insomuch, that when they had been divers times called before the king's privy council, his majesty himself being sometimes present, and also before the chief judges and justices of this realm, and that the matter being thoroughly examined, they found sufficient evidence, that Dr. Horsey, the chancellor, Charles Joseph, the sumner, and John Spalding, the bell-ringer, had privily committed this murder, and, therefore, indicted them all three as wilful murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest suit of the bishop of London unto cardinal Wolsey, at the next session of gaol-delivery, the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Dr. Horsey to be false, and him not guilty of the murder. Who, having in himself a guilty conscience, got unto Exeter, and durst never after come to London. But that the truth of all this may appear more manifest, here follows the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest.

"The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord the king Henry VIII. William Barnwell, coroner of London, the day and year abovesaid, within the ward of Castle-Baynard, of London, assembled a quest, whose names afterward do appear, and hath sworn them truly to inquire of the death of one Richard Hunne, which lately was found dead in the Lollards' Tower within Paul's church of London:—Whereupon all we of the inquest together went up into the said tower, where we found the body of the said Hunne hanging upon a staple of iron, in a girdle of silk, with a fair countenance, his head fair kembed, and his bonnet right sitting upon his head, with his eyne and mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any drivelling or spurging in any place of his body: whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take down the body of the said Hunne, and as soon as we began to heave the body it was loose; whereby, by good advisement, we perceived that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast, and the links of an iron chain, which did hang on the same staple, were laid upon the same girdle whereby he did hang; also the knot of the girdle that went about his neck stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrils two small streams of blood, to the quantity of four drops: save only these four drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, doublet, collar, and shirt, of the said Hunne, was clean from any blood. Also we find that the

skin both of his neck and throat, beneath the girdle of silk, was fret and failed away, with that thing which the murderers had broken his neck withal. Also the hands of the said Hunne were wrung in the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound. Moreover, we find that within the said prison was no mean whereby a man might hang himself, but only a stool, which stool stood upon a bolster of a bed, so tickle that any man or beast might not touch it so little but it was ready to fall: whereby we perceived, that it was not possible that Hunne might hang himself, the stool so standing. Also all the girdle, from the staple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we found in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcel of blood. Also we find upon the left side of Hunne's jacket, from the breast downward, two great streams of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his jacket we find a great cluster of blood, and the jacket folden down thereupon; which thing the said Hunne could never fold nor do after he was hanged: whereby it appeared plainly to us all, that the neck of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed, before he was hanged. Wherefore, all we find, by God and all our consciences, that Richard Hunne was murdered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hunne of his own death.

"Also there was an end of a wax-candle, which, as John, bell-ringer, saith, he left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday at night that Hunne was murdered; which wax-candle we found sticking upon the stocks, fair put out, about seven or eight foot from the place where Hunne was hanged, which candle after our opinion was never put out by him, for many likelihoods which we have perceived. Also at the going up of master chancellor into the Lollards' Tower, we have good proof that there lay on the stocks a gown, either of murray, or crimson in grain, furred with shanks; whose gown it was we could never prove, neither who bare it away. All we find, that master William Horsey, chancellor to my lord of London, hath had at his commandment both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreover, all we find that the said master Horsey, chancellor, hath put Charles Joseph out of his office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deal and use the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would have had him to do. Notwithstanding the deliverance of the keys to the chancellor by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunne's death, and Charles riding out of town on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a convention made be-

twixt Charles and the chancellor to colour the murder. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came again to the town at night, and killed Richard Hunne, as in the depositions of Julian Littel, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simonds, and Peter Turner, doth appear.

"After colouring the murder which Charles and the chancellor had conspired, the chancellor called to him one John Spalding, bell-ringer of Paul's, and delivered to the same bell-ringer the keys of the Lollards' Tower, giving to the said bell-ringer a great charge, saying, I charge thee to keep Hunne more straitly than he hath been kept, and let him have but one meal a-day; moreover, I charge thee to let nobody come to him without my licence, neither to bring him shirt, cap, kerchief, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hunne was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to be put upon Hunne's neck a great collar of iron, with a great chain, which is too heavy for any man or beast to wear and long to endure.

"Moreover, it is well proved, that before Hunne's death the said chancellor came up into the said Lollards' Tower, and kneeled down before Hunne, holding up his hands to him, praying him for forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must do to him. And on Sunday following, the chancellor commanded the penitentiary of Paul's to go up to him, and say a Gospel, and make for him holy water and holy bread, and give it to him; which he did: and also the chancellor commanded that Hunne should have his dinner. And at the same dinner time, Charles's boy was shut in prison with Hunne, which was never so before; and after dinner, when the bell-ringer set out the boy, the bell-ringer said to the same boy, Come no more hither with meat for him till to-morrow, for my master chancellor hath commanded that he should have but one meal a-day: and the same night following, Richard Hunne was murdered, which murder could not have been done without consent and license of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of John Spalding, bell-ringer; for there could no man come into the prison but by the keys, being in John, bell-ringer's, keeping. Also, as by my lord of London's book doth appear, John, bell-ringer, is a poor innocent man. Wherefore all we do perceive, that this murder could not be done but by the commandment of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of John, bell-ringer.

"Charles Joseph, within the Tower of London, of his own free will, and unconstrained, said, That master chancellor devised and wrote with his own hand, all such heresies as were laid to Hunne's charge; record John God, John True, John

Pasmere, Richard Gibson, with many others. Also Charles Joseph saith, That when Richard Hunne was slain, John, bell-ringer, bare up the stairs into the Lollards' Tower a wax-candle, having the keys of the door hanging on his arm; and I, Charles, went next to him, and master chancellor came up last; and when all we came up, we found Hunne lying on his bed; and then master chancellor said, Lay hands on the thief! and so all we murdered him: and then I, Charles, put the girdle about Hunne's neck; and then John, bell-ringer, and I, Charles, did heave up Hunne, and master chancellor pulled the girdle over the staple, and so Hunne was hanged."

The Copy of Richard Fitzjames's Letter, then bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey.

"I beseech your good lordship to stand so good lord unto my poor chancellor now in ward, and indicted by an untrue quest, for the death of Richard Hunne, upon the only accusation of Charles Joseph, made by pain and durance; that by your intercession it may please the king's grace to have the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discreet council, in the presence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cause; and that upon the innocency of my said chancellor declared, it may further please the king's grace to award a placard unto his attorney to confess the said indictment to be untrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my chancellor be tried by any twelve men in London, they be so maliciously set, *In favorem hæretica pravitatis*, that they will cast and condemn any clerk, though he were as innocent as Abel. *Quare si potes beate Pater, adjuva infirmitates nostras, et tibi in perpetuum devinctierimus.* Over this, in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may have the king's gracious favour, whom I never offended willingly; and that by your good means I might speak with his grace and you: and I with all mine shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

"Your most humble orator,

"R. London."

The words that the Bishop of London spake before the Lords in the Parliament-house.

"Memorandum, That the bishop of London said in the parliament-house, that there was a bill brought to the parliament, to make the jury that was charged upon the death of Hunne true men: and said and took upon his conscience, that they were false perjured caitiffs: and said further to all the lords there being, For the love of God look upon this matter; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine house for heretics; and said, that the

said Richard Hunne hanged himself, and that it was his own deed, and no man's else. And furthermore said, that there came a man to his house, whose wife was appeached of heresy, to speak with him; and he said that he had no mind to speak with the same man: which man spake and reported to the servants of the same bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinions, he would cut her throat with his own hands; with other words."

The Sentence of the Inquest, subscribed by the Coroner.

" The Inquisition intended and taken at the city of London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of king Henry VIII. before Thomas Barnwell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king within the city of London aforesaid. Also before James Yarford and John Mundey, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the body of Richard Hunne, late of London, tailer, which was found hanged in the Lollards' Tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner, the said Richard Hunne came unto his death: and upon the oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Grafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arunsell, Richard Cooper, John Tim; the which said upon their oaths, that where the said Richard Hunne, by the commandment of Richard, bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said bishop's, called Lollards' Tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid; William Horsey, of London, clerk, otherwise called William Heresie, chancellor to Richard, bishop of London; and one Charles Joseph, late of London, sumner, and John Spalding, of London, otherwise called John Bellringer, feloniously as felons to our lord the king, with force and arms against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, the fourth day of December, the sixth year of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hunne made a fray, and the same Richard Hunne feloniously strangled and smothered, and also the neck they did break of the said Richard Hunne, and there feloniously slew

and murdered him; and also the body of the said Richard Hunne, afterward the same fourth day, year, place, parish, and ward aforesaid, with the proper girdle of the same Richard Hunne, of silk, black of colour, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the prison aforesaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and the dignity of his crown: and so the said jury hath sworn upon the holy Evangelists, that the said William Horsey, clerk, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said Richard Hunne, in manner and form abovesaid, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity. Subscribed in this manner:

"Thomas Barnwell,
"Coroner of the City of London."

After that the twenty-four had given their verdict, sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, that the innocent cause of Hunne should take no wrong, the parliament became suiters unto the king's majesty, that whereas the goods of the said Hunne were confiscate into the king's hands, it would please his Grace to make restitution of all the said goods unto the children of the said Hunne. Upon which motion, the king of his gracious disposition did not only give all the aforesaid goods unto the aforesaid children, under his broad seal, yet to be seen, but also did send out his warrants to those that were the cruel murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to deliver all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hunne: all which goods came to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, besides his plate and other jewels.

John Stilman, about 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, at his manor of Fulham, and was examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration, made about eleven years past, before Edmund, bishop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images; as also for denying the corporeal presence in the sacrament: yet since that time he had fallen into the same opinions again: and, further, had highly commended John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book, called the *Wicket*, was good and holy. Soon after his examination, he was sent from thence unto the Lollards' Tower at London, and October 22d, was brought openly into the consistory of Paul's, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed, the bishop's vicar-general.

But as he firmly persevered in the truth, Dr. Hed, vicar-general, October 25, by his sentence definitive did condemn him a relapsed heretic; and so delivered him the same day unto the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

Next to John Stilman, followeth the persecution and condemnation of *Thomas Man:* who, March 29, 1518, was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel about six years before, and being brought before Dr. Smith, bishop of Lincoln, was by him examined upon divers and sundry articles:

1. That he had spoken against auricular confession, and denied the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar.

2. That he believed that all holy men of his sect were true priests.

3. That he believed not aright in the sacrament of extreme unction.

4. That he had called certain priests, meanly arrayed, pilled knaves.

5. That he had said, that pulpits were priests' lying-stools.

6. That he had believed that images ought not to be worshipped, and that he neither believed in the crucifix, nor yet would worship it.

7. That he had said that the popish church was not the church of God, but a synagogue: and that holy men of his sect were the true church of God, &c.

For these and such like matters was he a long time imprisoned, and at last, through frailty and fear of death, was led to abjure and yield himself unto the judgment of the Romish church, and thereupon was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but also from thenceforth to remain a prisoner within the monastery of Osney, besides Oxford, and so to bear a faggot before the first cross, at the next general procession within the university. But not long after, the bishop having need of the poor man's help in his household business, took him out of the said monastery, and placed him within his own house until his business was ended; and then, his turn once served, he appointed Dr. Wilcocks, his vicar-general, that in his judicial session within the priory of Frideswide, at Oxford, he should assign him to remain within the said priory, and not to depart thence without licence of the prior for the time being, upon pain of relapse: and upon the like pain he also enjoined him to wear the sign of a faggot under his uppermost garment, until he were dispensed withal for the same. But he (being both sorry for his offence in denying the truth, and also weary of his servile and prison-like bondage,) bethought himself how he might best escape their cruel hands; and, after a while, seeing a good

opportunity, he fled the diocese and jurisdiction of Lincoln, and seeking abroad in other countries for work, he abode some time in Essex, some time in Suffolk; where also he associated himself unto such godly professors of Christ's gospel as he could hear of. But within a few years after, he was again accused of relapse by the inquest of the inquisition of London, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, and March 29, 1518, he was examined and condemned by Dr. Hed, the bishop's vicar-general.

Thus Thomas Man, being condemned by the unjust sentence of Hed, the chancellor, was delivered to the sheriff of London, sitting on horseback in Pater-noster-row, before the bishop's door, in 1518, protesting to the said sheriff, that he had no power to put him to death, and, therefore, desired the sheriff to take him, as a relapser and condemned, to see him punished. The sheriff receiving neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there the same day in the forenoon caused him to be hurried to God's angels; according to the words of the said Thomas Man, That if he were taken again by the *pilled knave priests*, he knew well he should go to the holy angels, and then be an angel in heaven.

William Sweeting, otherwise named *Clerke*, first dwelt with the lady Percy at Darlington, in the county of Northampton, for a certain space, and from thence went to Boxted, in the county of Essex, where he was the holy-water clerk the space of seven years: after that, he was bailiff and farmer to Mrs. Margery Wood, the term of thirteen years. From Boxted he came to the town of St. Osithe, where he served the prior of St. Stithes, called George Laund, the space of sixteen years and more. Where he had so turned the prior by his persuasion, that the said prior of St. Osithe was afterwards compelled to abjure. This William Sweeting, coming up to London with the aforesaid prior, for suspicion of heresy, was committed to the Lollards' Tower under the custody of Charles Joseph, and there being abjured in the church of St. Paul, was constrained to bear a faggot at Paul's cross, and at Colchester; and afterwards to wear a faggot upon his coat all his life. Which he did two years together upon his left sleeve; till at length the parson of Colchester required him to help him in the service of the church, and so plucked the badge from his sleeve, and there he remained two years, being the holy-water clerk. From thence afterwards he departed, and travelling abroad, came to Rhederith, in the diocese of Winchester, where he was holy-water clerk the space of a year. Then he went to Chelsith, where he was their neat-herd, and kept the town-beasts. In which town, upon St.

Anne's day in the morning, as he went forth with his beasts to the field, the good man was apprehended and brought before the bishop, and his chamber searched for books; this was in 1511.

The crimes whereupon he was examined were these:

First, for having much conference with one William Man, of Boxted, in a book which was called *Matthew*.

That when his wife would go on pilgrimage, he asked of her, What good she should receive by her going on pilgrimage? adding moreover, that, as he supposed, it was to no purpose nor profit, but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend her business.

That he had learned and received of William Man, that the sacrament of the altar was not the present very body, but bread in substance received in memorial of Christ.

Because he had reproved his wife for worshipping the images in the church, and for setting up candles before them.

And thus have you all the causes and crimes laid against this William Sweeting, wherefore he was condemned; who then being asked what cause he had why he should not be judged for relapse? said, he had nothing else, but only that he committed himself to the mercy of Almighty God.

With William Sweeting also the same time was examined and condemned *James Brewster*, of the parish of St. Nicholas, in Colchester. This James Brewster was a carpenter, dwelling ten years in the town of Colchester; who, being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. James, in one Walker's house in St. Clement's parish.

About six years before, which was in 1505, he had been abjured by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, the see of London being then vacant. And after other penance done at Colchester, he was enjoined to wear a faggot upon his upper garment during life. Which badge he did bear upon his left shoulder near the space of two years, till the controller of the earl of Oxford plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the earl.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these:

First, That he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain book.

For having a certain little book of scripture in English, of an old writing, almost worn for age, whose name is not there expressed.

That he had much conference with Henry Hert, against

oblations and images, and that it was better bestowed money which was given to the poor, than that which was offered in pilgrimage.

When Thomas Goodred, William Sweeting, and he, in the fields keeping beasts, were talking together of the sacrament of the Lord's body, and like matters, this James Brewster should thus say, *Now the Son of the living God help us:* unto whom William Sweeting again should answer, *Now Almighty God so do.*

And thus have you the causes likewise and crimes laid against James Brewster, upon which he, with William Sweeting, were together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romish manner is, Whether he had any cause why he should not be adjudged for relapse? he said, that he submitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodness of him his judge. And likewise did William Sweeting submit himself; trusting belike that they should find some favour and relief in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodness.

But note here the unmerciful dealing of these Catholic fathers, who upon their submission were contented to give out a solemn commission, the tenor whereof was to release them from the sentence of excommunication. But immediately after upon the same, the bishop pronounced upon them the sentence of death. Whereupon they were both delivered to the secular power, and both together burnt in Smithfield at one fire, the 18th day of October, in 1511.

Mrs. Smith, widow; Robert Hatches, Archer Hawkins, Thomas Bond, shoemakers; Wrigsham, a glover; and Londsadle, a hosier; burnt at Coventry, in 1519.

The principal cause of the apprehension of these persons was, for teaching their children and families the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English; for which they were upon Ash-Wednesday taken and put in prison, some in places under ground, some in chambers, and other places about, till Friday following.

Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry.—During which time their children were sent for to Grey-Friars in Coventry, before the warden of the said friars, called Friar Stafford; who straitly examined them of their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them; charging them, upon pain of suffering such death as their fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments, in English.

On Palm-Sunday, the fathers of these children were brought back again to Coventry, and the week before Easter, were condemned for relapse (because most of them had borne faggots in the same city before) to be burned.

Only Mrs. Smith was dismissed, and sent away. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, Simon Mourton, the sumner, offered himself to go home with her. As he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve, he said, What have ye here? And so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments, in English. Which, when the wretched sumner understood, *Ah, sirrah!* (said he) *Come, as good now as another time.* And so brought her back again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned; and so burned with the six men before named, the 4th of April, in a place called the Little Park, in 1513.

Robert Silkeb, at the apprehension of the above persons, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken, and brought to Coventry, where he was burned the day after he came thither; which was about the 13th of January, 1521.

Thus, when these were despatched, immediately the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle to their own use, not leaving their wives and children any part thereof, to help themselves withal. And as the people began to complain at the cruelty shewed, and at the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad, that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridays, and other fast days.

Thomas Harding, of Chesham, in Buckinghamshire, with Alice, his wife, was first abjured by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, in 1506, with divers others, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, and compelled, some to bear faggots, some were burned in the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries and spoiled of all their goods, some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, &c.

Thomas Harding, and his wife, being abjured and enjoined penance, with divers others, by the bishop of Lincoln, was released again, in 1515, of all such penance as was enjoined him and his wife at their abjuration, except the three articles follow-

ing, and were discharged of their badges, or signs of the faggot, &c. Only the penance following the bishop continued:

First, That neither of them during their life should dwell out of the parish of Amersham.

That either of them during their life should fast from bread and ale every Corpus Christi even.

That either of them should, during their lives, upon Corpus Christi day, every year go pilgrimage to Asheridge, and there make their offering, as other people did, but not to do penance. Also they were licensed by the said bishop to do their pilgrimage at Asheridge, on Corpus Christi even, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, upon any cause reasonable.

This penance they observed till the year 1522, save only in the last year Alice omitted her pilgrimage to Asheridge upon Corpus Christi day. Also the said Thomas Harding, being put to his oath to detect others, because he, contrary to his oath, dissembled and did not disclose them, was enjoined, in penance for his perjury, to bear upon his right sleeve, both before and behind, a patch of green cloth, embroidered like a faggot, during his life, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal. And thus he continued from the year 1522 until 1532.

At last the said Harding, in the year abovesaid, about Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to commit their wonted idolatry, went into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true and living God, in spirit and truth; where, as he was occupied in a book of English prayers, sitting upon a stile by the wood's side, a person saw him, who came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring, that he had seen Harding in the woods looking on a book.

Whereupon immediately a rude rabble, like madmen, ran to his house to search for books, and under the boards of his floor they found certain English books of Holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father, with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then at Wooburn; who, with his chaplains, calling Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes than with any sound arguments. Harding, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust in the Lord, let them say what they would. At last they sent him to the bishop's prison, called *Little-Ease*, where he lay with hunger and pain for some time, till the bishop, sitting on his tribunal, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge of his martyrdom to Rowland Messenger, vicar of Great Wickham. Rowland, at the day appointed, with a rabble of others, brought Harding to Chesham again; where,

the next day, Rowland made a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the time; which sermon was to maintain the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of his apostolic see, with the idolatry, fancies, and traditions, belonging to the same. When the sermon was ended, Rowland took him up to the altar, and asked, Whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christ's natural body born of the Virgin Mary? To this Harding answered, The articles of our belief teach us, that our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God in the glory of his Father.

Then was he brought into a house in the town, where he remained all night in prayer and meditation. The next morning came Rowland, about ten o'clock, with a company of bills and staves, to lead him to his burning; a great number of both men and women following; many of whom bewailed his death. He was brought forth, having in his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, *Jesus, receive my spirit!*

When they had set fire to him, one threw a billet at him, and dashed out his brains; of what purpose he did so, it is not known; but, as it was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the proclamation was made at the burning of William Tilesworth, "That whosoever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of an heretic, should have forty days of pardon." Whereby many ignorant people caused their children to bear billets and faggots to their burning.

In fine, this godly martyr was burnt to ashes, in the Dell going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham. Rowland, commanding silence, with a loud voice said to the people, "Good people, when ye come home, do not say, that you have been at the burning of an heretic, but of a good true Christian man;" and so they departed to dinner.

It is mentioned in the records of Lincoln and of Buckinghamshire, about the time the above Thomas Harding suffered, that many persons were molested; whose names, with the causes of their persecution, are here specified.

Mrs. Alice Doly.—Elizabeth Wighthill being brought before Dr. London, in the parsonage of Staunton Harecourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against Mrs. Alice Doly, her mistress, that the said Mrs. Doly, speaking of John Hacker, of

Coleman-street, London, water-bearer, said, that he was very expert in the gospels, and all other things belonging to divine service, and could express and declare it, and the Pater-noster, in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him; saying, moreover, that she would in no case that this were known, for hurting the poor man; commanding also the said Elizabeth, that she should tell no man hereof; affirming at that same time, that the aforesaid Hacker could tell of divers prophecies, what should happen in the realm.—Besides which, Elizabeth deposed, that the said Mrs. Doly, shewed her a book which held against pilgrimages; and after that, she caused Sir John Booth, parson of Britwel, to read a book, which he called *Legenda Aurea;* and one saint's life he read which spoke against pilgrimages. And after that was read, her mistress said unto her, "Lo, daughter, now ye may hear as I told you, that this book speaketh against pilgrimages."

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mrs. Doly, by the said Elizabeth, that she being at Sir William Barenten's place, and seeing there in the closet images new gilded, said to the said Elizabeth, "Look, here be my Lady Barenten's gods." To whom the said Elizabeth answered again, that they were set for remembrance of good saints. Then said she, If I were in a house where no images were, I could remember to pray unto saints as well as if I saw the images. Nay, said the other, images do provoke devotion. Then said her mistress, Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears, and cannot hear, and hath eyes, and cannot see, and hath mouth, and cannot speak, and hath hands, and cannot feel.

The said Mrs. Doly was reported by the said party to have a book containing the twelve articles of the Creed, covered with boards and red covering. Also another black book, which she set most price by, which she always kept in her chamber, or in her coffer; with divers other books. This was about the year 1520.

Behold here, reader, the crimes for which multitudes lost their lives: they said the Lord's prayer in English, and read parts of the gospel in the same language!

Against *Roger Hackman* it was laid by depositions, that he, sitting at the church-aisle at Norfolk, said these words, I will never look to be saved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unless I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw shall have his pardon of the king; and said, That if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.

Against *Robert West*, priest, it was objected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having wife and children, &c.

For saying, That whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and even-song, they had no authority so to do. For which he was abjured, and was enjoined penance.

It was testified against *John Ryburn*, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, that she coming to him upon the Assumption-even, found him at supper with butter and eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered that it was no convenient time then to eat. To whom he said again, that God never made such fasting days; but you (quoth he) are so far in *Limbo Patrum*, that you can never turn again. And in further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy cross at Wendover; he said again, that she did wrong: for there is not a step that you set in going on pilgrimage, but you go to the devil; and you go to church to worship what the priest holds above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the mouse, he will eat it. And said, that he would never believe that the priest hath power to make his Lord.

It was testified by another sister, named Alice Ryburn, that she being with her brother in a close called Brimer's Close, heard him say these words, "That a time shall come when no elevation shall be made." Whereunto she answering again, asked, "And what service shall we have then?" He said, "That service that we have now." Furthermore, John Ryburn was accused upon these words, for saying that the service of the church was worth nothing, because it was not in English: For (said he) if we had our Pater-noster in English, we would say it nine times against once now, &c.

In 1530, *John Eaton*, and *Cecily* his wife, of the parish of Spin, were detected by Richard Ryburn, that they were remarked in the parish on the Sunday, in the sacring time, to hold down their heads, and would not look upon the sacrament.

In the feast of Exaltation of the Holy Cross, when the bells rung solemnly, between matins and high mass, for saying in a butcher's house, "What a clappering of bells is here!"

The said John Ryburn was detected by Richard, his father, for saying these words, "The priests do wrong; for they should say their service in English, that every man may know it."

For speaking to one of his sisters, The sacrament of the altar is not as they take it to be. But if it be as I trust, we shall see none of them holden up, one of these days, over the priest's head, &c.

For saying, That the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that were done or should be done, and, therefore, there was no need to go on pilgrimage.

It was also laid to his charge, and confessed by himself, that he had Jesus' gospels in English, and that he was present in the house of John Taylor, when one John Simonds read to them a lecture out of the gospels, of the passion of Christ, for the space of two hours.

For saying, That images were but idols, and it was idolatry to pray to them.

For saying, moreover, That at sacring time he kneeled down, but he had no devotion, nor believed in the sacrament. That the pope's authority and pardon cannot help man's soul, and it was but casting away money that is given for pardons; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus, he will give us pardon every day.

It was laid against *John Simonds*, for saying, that men walk all day in purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of it, there are but two ways, either to hell or to heaven. He said, That priests should have wives.

It was reported by the confession of the said John Simonds, that he converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had holpen two or three friars out of their orders.

William Windgrave, Thomas Hawks, of Hichenden; Robert Hawks, of Westwicomb; John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Heron, of Cobshil; Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk the younger, and William Hawks, of Chesham, 1530.

These persons, with others, were examined, excommunicated, and abjured, for being together in John Taylor's house, at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field, of London, read a parcel of scripture, in English, to them, who there expounded to them many things: That they which went on pilgrimage were accursed: that it was of no use to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man: that God Almighty biddeth us work as well one day as another, saving the Sunday, for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested: that they need not to fast so many fasting days, except the embring-days; for he was in Germany, and there they used not so to fast, nor to make such holidays.

That offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained God's service: Nay, said Nicholas, it maintaineth great houses, as abbeys and others.

That men should say their Pater-noster and Ave-Maria, in English, with the Creed; and declared the same in English.

That the sacrament of the altar was not as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone, of Christ; but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body.

To William Windgrave, moreover, it was objected, that he

should say that there was no purgatory; and if there were any purgatory, and every mass that is said should deliver a soul out of purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for there be more masses said in a day, than there be bodies buried in a month.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford, was charged in judgment, for having three books in English; one was the Gospels, another was the Psalter, the third was the sum of the Holy Scripture.

It was objected to *James Algar*, first, that he, speaking to a certain doctor of divinity, named Aglonby, said, that every true Christian man living after the laws of God, and observing his commandments, is a priest as well as he, &c.

That he said, that he would not have his executers to deal a penny for his soul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his conscience told him, that his soul, as soon as it departeth out of the body, goeth straight either to heaven or hell.

When Dr. Aglonby had alleged to him the 16th of St. Matthew, "Thou art Peter," &c. he answered him again, with that which followeth in the gospel after, "Get thee behind me, Satan," &c.

That James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, said openly, it was no great matter, for the church hath enough already.

Against *John French* these three articles were objected.

1. That he believed not the body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, to be in the sacrament.

2. That he was not confessed to any priest of long time.

3. That priests had not power to absolve from sins, &c.

For which he likewise, with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneel down, and to ask his holy Catholic fathers and mothers of Rome blessing.

Thomas Hitten, was a preacher at Maidstone, whom the bishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, after they had long kept and tormented in prison with sundry torments, at last burnt, at Maidstone, for his steady and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free grace and salvation, in the year 1530.

Suppression of the Monasteries by Henry VIII.

The part which Henry VIII. took in the *Reformation*, is generally known: but the *motives*, which led him to act that part, have seldom been laid before the public. It cannot be attributed to his love of religion; for he was a monster of iniquity:

nor can it be attributed to his hatred to the pope; for though that might have operated as one cause, it was not the grand and primary one, for he was still a Papist at heart. A desire to possess himself of power and riches was that which dictated all the measures he made use of; it was that which led him to suppress the monasteries, to proclaim himself *Head of the Church*, and thus erect a petty popedom in the British dominions. But what awakened this ambition in the breast of the English monarch?—It appears to owe its rise solely to that curious and interesting pamphlet, written by a person of the name of *Fish* about the year 1527, entitled *The Supplication of Beggars;* the *whole* of which, with some account of its author, and the means by which it came into the king's hands, are here circumstantially related from Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. II. p. 228, &c.

This work led Henry, in the 27th year of his reign, to dissolve all the lesser monasteries not having £200. per annum, of which there were above 370; and to seize on all their lands, rents, and houses, with their stock of cattle, corn, utensils, &c. In the 31st year of his reign, all the great abbeys, to the number of 645, had the same fate. And in the 37th year, 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, and 2374 chantries and free chapels, were granted by the parliament, at the king's desire, to supply his necessities; besides the houses, lands, and goods, of the knights of Jerusalem, which he had suppressed in the 32d year of his reign. Reader, behold from the following account, what a *great matter* a *little fire* kindleth.

After the light of the gospel, began to spread in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many; so that hypocrisy, false doctrine, and painted holiness, began to be discerned more and more by the reading of God's Word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals, were not so high, but such as had the light of God's grace began to discern Christ from Antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion. In the number of whom was Mr. Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn.

It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London, 1525, that there was a certain play made by one Mr. Roo, a gentleman, in which was some matter against cardinal Wolsey. And as none durst take upon them to play that part, Mr. Fish engaged to do it. Whereupon great displeasure ensued against him on the cardinal's part, and being pursued by the cardinal, the same night, was compelled to leave his own house, and so fled over sea to Tindal. The next year this book was made, and not long after, in the year 1528, was sent over to the Lady Ann Bullen, who then lay at a place not far from the court. Which book her brother seeing, took it and read it, and gave it

to her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king; which she did.

The king demanded of her who had made it? Whereunto she said, "A certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal." After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, such knowledge was given by his servants to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all peril. Whereupon she being encouraged, came first and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband; who understanding whose wife she was, shewed a marvellous, gentle, and cheerful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it like, your grace, not far off." Then (said he) fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without peril, and no man shall do him harm. Saying, moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In which time the cardinal was deposed, and Mr. More set in his place of the chancellorship.

Thus Fish's wife went immediately to her husband, lying privily within a mile of the court, and brought him to the king; 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the book, he came and embraced him with a loving countenance; who, after talking for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together a hunting, at length dismissed him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him. Who answered the king, and said, he durst not do so, for fear of Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, and Stokesley, the bishop of London.

The king, taking the signet off his finger, recommended him to the lord chancellor, charging him not to work him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge; but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife, (for she a little before had displeased the friars, by not suffering them to say their gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say it in English.) Whereupon the lord chancellor, not leaving his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sick of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble.

Of which plague her husband, the said Mr. Fish, died within half a year, and she was afterwards married to one Mr. James Bainham, sir Alexander Bainham's son, a worshipful knight of

Gloucestershire; which Mr. James Bainham not long after was burned, as shall shortly appear.

There is another note of one *Edmund Moddis*, the king's footman, touching the same matter:

Master Moddis being with the king in talk of religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the seas, said, "If it might please his grace to pardon him, and *such* as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as was marvellous to hear of." The king demanded who they were? He said, Two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson. The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence, he demanded what they had to say, or to shew him? One of them said, "That there was a book come to their hands, which they had there to shew his grace." When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it? "Yea, (said George Elyot,) if it please your grace to hear it."—"I thought so, (said the king,) for, if need were, thou canst say it without book."

The whole book being read out, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book, and put it into his desk, and commanded them, upon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the book. The following is a copy of it:

A certain Book, entitled, "The Supplication of Beggars," scattered about at the procession in Westminster, on Candlemas Day, before King Henry VIII. made and compiled by Mr. Fish.

"*To the King our Sovereign Lord,*

"Most lamentably complaineth their woeful misery unto your highness, your poor daily beadmen, the wretched hideous monsters, on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms, how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of all the well-disposed people of this your realm is not half enough for to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor beadmen, by the reason that there is, in the times of your noble predecessors passed, craftily crept into this your realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong and counterfeit holy, and idle beggars and vagabonds, which, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased

under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

"These are not the shepherds, but ravenous wolves going in sheep's clothing, devouring the flock,—bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and sumners. And who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, which setting all labour aside, have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm! The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories, are theirs; besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wood, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter; yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as an heretic. Hereto have they their four offering days. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses! Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges, to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions, by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars, chapels, and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money! What a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a year! How much money get the sumners by extortion in a year, by citing the people to the commissary's court, and afterward releasing them for money! Finally, the infinite number of begging friars, what get they in a year!

"Here, if it please your grace to mark, you shall see a thing far out of joint. There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches. And this standing, that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there 520,000 households. And of every of these households, hath every of the five orders of friars, a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all the five orders, fivepence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders, twentypence a year of every house. *Summa*, five hundred and twenty thousand quarters of angels, that is, 260,000 half angels. *Summa*, 130,000 angels. *Summa, totalis*, 430,333 pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling.—Whereof not 400 years passed they had not one penny.

"O, grievous and painful exaction, thus yearly to be paid; from which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free! And this will they

have, or else they will procure him that will not give it to them to be taken as an heretic. What tyrant ever opressed the people like this cruel and vengeable generation! What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled! What good Christian people can be able to succour us, poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed! Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your grace most tenderly, of great compassion, hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatened ruin of their commonwealth, have been so slothfully, yea, painfully, levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, hath been gathered before yearly by this ravenous insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should ever have been able to have brought their armies from so far hither into your land, to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of gluttons to find at home. The noble king Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucis, the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle number of cormorants to feed. The ancient Romans had never been able to have put the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus yearly oppressed. The Turk now in your time should never have been able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that ye may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm, or no; so shall ye find that it draweth far above.

"Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, unto the number of lay people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted, or not, that they should have half. Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, so are they not the four hundredth person in number. One part, therefore, into four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not the four hundredth person of their number! What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any commonwealth so sore oppressed since the world first began!

"And what doth all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves, with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly

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nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but translate all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace unto them. Nothing but that all your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them, as they did unto your noble predecessor, king John; which because that he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French king, to have deposed him from his crown and dignity, (among the which a clerk called Stephen, whom afterward against the king's will, the pope made bishop of Canterbury, was one,) interdicted his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas, for shame!) hath stood tributary, not unto any kind of temporal prince, but unto a cruel devilish blood-sucker, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since.

"Here were an holy sort of prelates that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm, and succession, for doing right! Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict a whole realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for none other cause but for his righteousness! Here were a blessed sort, not of meek shepherds, but of blood-suckers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed king, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people than the loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, submitted himself unto them!

"O, case most horrible, that ever so noble a king, realm, and succession, should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suckers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity, whereby he might have done justice in this matter? Where was their obedience, that should have been subject under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects, that for maintenance of the commonwealth should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suckers, to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy, translated from this good king unto them?

"Yea, and what do they more?—Truly nothing, but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry and bawdry should reign over all among your subjects, that no man should know his own child, that their bastards might inherit the passions of every man, to put the right begotten children clean besides their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they that by their abstain-

ing from marriage do hinder the generation of the people, whereby all the realm at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabited.

"These be they that have made a hundred thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have got their living honestly, in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches enticed them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch the foul disease of one woman and bear it unto another; that be burnt with one woman, and bear it to another; that catch the leprosy of one woman, and bear it unto another. Yea, some one of them shall boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with a hundred women. These be they that when they have drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husbands' goods, make the women to run away from their husbands, yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bringing both man, wife, and children, to idleness, theft, and beggary. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea, full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished!

"Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons, committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated, and exempt from your grace unto them? Yes, truly, what an infinite number of people might have been increased to have peopled the realm, if this sort of folk had been married like other men! What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them! such truly as was never since the world began among the whole multitude of the heathen! Who is she who will set her hands to work, to get three pence a-day, and may have at least twenty pence a-day to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a-day, and may have at least twelve pence a-day to be bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests' sovereign ladies, but to cloak the priests' incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves for their labour? How many thousands doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had it not been for this excessive treasure of the spirituality? What honest man dare take any man or woman into his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

"O, the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth, which in an-

cient time, before the coming of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous, that then there were but few thieves; yea, theft at that time was so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your grace may well perceive in his institutes. There was also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked; for there was at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them; as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? Nay, truly. What remedy? Make laws against them! I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself?—What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors, are lords of your parliament! Are not all the learned men of your realm in fee with them to speak in your parliament-house for them, against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them, that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved very sore) that for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he do, then is he, by and by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy; yea, they will so handle him ere he pass, that except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated, and then be all the actions dashed.

"So captive are your laws unto them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, ere the year go out, such a yoke of heresy laid on his neck, that it maketh him wish he had not done it. Your grace may see what a work there is in London; how the bishop rageth for the indicting of certain curates of extortion and incontinency, the last year in the wardmote quest. Had not Richard Hunn, lately burnt for heresy, commenced an action of *præmunire* against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretic at all, but an honest man. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof, among which the statute of mortmain was one, to the intent that after that time they should have no more given unto them? But what availeth it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since, than any duke in England hath, the statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not for all that translated into their hands, from your grace, half your kingdom throughly, the only name remain-

ing to you for your ancestor's sake? So you have the name and they the profit. Yea, I fear, if I should weigh all things to the utmost, they would also take the name to them, and of one kingdom make twain; the Spiritual Kingdom, as they call it, (for they will be named first,) and your Temporal Kingdom. And which of these two kingdoms, suppose you, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly the kingdom of the blood-suckers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom; and that which is once given them, never cometh from them again: such laws have they, that none of them may either give or sell any thing. What law can be made so strong against them, that they either with money, or else with other policy, will not break or set at nought? What kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the substance of your realm, your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the unsatiable whirlpool of these greedy gulfs, to be swallowed and devoured!

"Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory; without whose prayers, they say, or at least without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reason that we give them all these things, although it were a hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have unto the truth, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter; which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spirituality, only to translate all kingdoms from other princes unto them, and that there is not one word spoken of it in all the Holy Scripture. They say also, that if there were a purgatory, and also if that the pope with his pardons may for money deliver one soul thence, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and so destroy purgatory; and then he is a cruel tyrant, without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain till men will give him money.

"Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spirituality, That if they will pray for no man, but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably for lack of their prayers. This sort of folks they call heretics, these they burn, these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear

faggots; but whether they be heretics, or not, well I wot that this purgatory, and the pope's pardons, are all the cause of the translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands. Wherefore it is manifest it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal kingdom, he himself paid tribute to Cæsar, he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea, himself, although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent, was obedient to the high powers unto death. This is the great reason why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue, lest men should espy that they, by their cloked hypocrisy, do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in him.

"Here may your grace well perceive, that except you suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give them. For this I am sure your grace thinketh, as the truth is, I am as good a man as my father; why may I not as well give them as much as my father did? And of this mind, I am sure, are all the lords, knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen, in England; yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of mortmain, was never made with any good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spirituality, as their predecessors did in time past.

"Wherefore, if ye will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter than all the laws that may be made, be they never so strong; for to make a law to punish any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit such like offences, what should it avail? Did not Dr. Alen most presumptuously now in your time, against his allegiance, all that ever he could, to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not also Dr. Horsey, and his accomplices, most heinously, as all the world knoweth, murder in prison that honest merchant, Richard Hunne, for that he sued your writ of *præmunire* against a priest that wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts? And what punishment was there done, that any man

may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none but that the one paid five hundred pounds, as it is said, to the building of your chamber; and when that payment was once passed, the captains of his kingdom, because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, have heaped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, as it is said, paid six hundred pounds for him and his accomplices; which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of the kingdom with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of punishment, to beware of such like offence! Who is he of their kingdom, that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

"And this is by reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea, the chief of your council, and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, which hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should, therefore, utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, least that we declaring such an horrible carrion of evil against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of righteousness, which is to be hid till he may be learned by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself.

"But what remedy to relieve us, your poor sick, lame, and sore beadmen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay truly. The more the worse: for even the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, whereof for the ancienty of the time they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them, to have a certain number of masses said daily for them, whereof they say never a one. If the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few. Wherefore if your grace will build a sure hospital that never shall fail, to relieve us all, your poor beadmen, *then take from them all these things.* Set these sturdy loobies abroad in the world to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the

sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, (*Genesis* the third,) to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour.

"Tie these holy idle thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market town till they fall to labour, that they by their importunate begging take not away the alms that the good Christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your beadmen. Then shall as well the number of your aforesaid monstrous sort, as of the bawds, whores, thieves, and idle people, decrease. Then shall these great yearly exactions cease. Then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, be translated from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idle people be set to work. Then shall matrimony be much better kept. Then shall the generation of your people be increased. Then shall your commons increase in riches. Then shall the gospel be preached. Then shall none beg our alms from us. Then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us; which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure."

After the clergy, and especially the cardinal, understood these books of the *Beggars' Supplication*, were strewn abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the cardinal caused his servants diligently to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but, when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came unto the king's majesty, saying, "If it shall please your grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies;" desiring his grace to beware of them. Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it unto the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and thereupon determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and namely, this *Book of Beggars*, and the New Testament of Tindal's translation; which was done by Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, who sent out his prohibition unto his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and divers other; the tenor of which prohibition followeth:

"Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official; health, grace, and benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently with all our power

to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away, all those things which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and especially the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth, and the Catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations to profanate the majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy Word of God, and the true sense of the same; of the which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number; which truly, without it be foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us with most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine majesty:—Wherefore we, Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, which seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or caused to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our vicar-general, all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you do certify us, or our said commissary, within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

"Given under our seal, the three and twentieth of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, 1526.

The like commission was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter under the bishop's seal.

The Names of the Books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.

The Supplication of Beggars: The Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther: The New Testament of Tindal: The Wicked Mammon: The Obedience of a Christian Man: An Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans: Luther's Exposition upon the Pater Nostre.

Besides these books, within a short time after, there were a great number more of other books in like manner prohibited by the king's proclamation, through the bishop's procurement. The catalogue whereof, with the names and the authors, may be seen in Fox, vol. 2. p. 234.

The New Testament, in the catalogue above recited began first to be translated by William Tindal, and so came forth in print about the year of our Lord 1529, wherewith Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tindal, but shewed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, told him, that he would gladly buy up all those New Testaments.—Packington, hearing this, said, "My lord, I can do more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tindal, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them; and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold." The bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, said, "Do your diligence, gentle master Packington, to get them for me, and I will pay you whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn them all at Paul's cross." Then Packington went unto William Tindal, and declared the whole matter; and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tindal the money.

After this, Tindal corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused it to be printed, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, "How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all."—Then answered Packington, "Surely I bought all that were to be had. But I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy

the *stamps* too, and so you shall be sure." At which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

A short time after, George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, who was then chancellor of England, suspected of certain heresies. After divers communications, amongst other things master More asked of him, saying, "Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee I will shew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tindal, Joy, and a great many of you; I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money, and thou being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that help them thus?"—"My lord, (quoth Constantine) I will tell you truly; it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments, to burn them, and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort."—"Now by my troth, (quoth More) I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it."

Thomas Bilney, and Arthur, who abjured at Norwich, 1531.

Thomas Bilney was brought up in the University of Cambridge, from a child, profiting in all kind of liberal sciences, to the profession of both laws. But at the last having gotten a better schoolmaster, the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at the last to this point, forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more to godliness than gain.

As he was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion, so he had in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more than that he might stir up any to love Christ. Neither were his labours in vain; for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the gospel, amongst which number was *Thomas Arthur*, and *Hugh Latimer;* which Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession-days. At the last, Bilney, forsaking the university, went into many places, teaching and preaching, with Arthur, who accompanied him from the university. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater, which evidently declared unto all wise men the manifest vanity of his life. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at

the incredible insolence of the clergy, which they could now no longer abide, began to reprove this excessive pomp, and also to pluck at the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent: for he understood well enough upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. Only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his gospel, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily to withstand these beginnings. Upon which he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended, and cast into prison.

After this, the 27th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1527, the said cardinal, accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Henry of St. Asaph, with many others, both divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where the said Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur were brought before them; and the said cardinal there inquired of master Bilney, whether he had, privately or publickly, preached or taught the people the opinions of Luther, or any other condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church?—Whereunto Bilney answered, That wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrary to the Catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same every where? He answered, that he had made such an oath, but not lawfully. Which interrogatories so ministered, the cardinal caused him to swear to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him: as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich, and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworn and examined, the said cardinal proceeded to the examination of Thomas Arthur, causing him to take the like oath. Which done, he asked him whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More, knight, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ? Which interrogatory he denied. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing.

After noon the same day, what time the examination of the aforesaid Thomas Arthur was ended, the cardinal and bishops by their authority, *ex officio*, did call in for witness, before master Bilney, certain men, namely, John Huggen, chief provincial of the friars preachers throughout all England, Jeffery Julles and Richard Jugworth, professors of divinity of the same order; also William Jecket, William Nelson, and Thomas Williams, gentlemen; who were sworn that, all favour, hate, love, or reward, set apart, they should, without concealing any falsehood or omitting any truth, speak their minds upon the articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the diocese of London as the diocese of Norwich: and because he was otherwise occupied about the affairs of the realm, he committed the hearing of the matter to the bishop of London, and to two other bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spiritual as temporal, as also against schedules, writings, and books, set forth and translated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo X. and by all manner of probable means to inquire and root out their errors; and all such as were found culpable, to compel them to abjuration according to the law, or, if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the secular power, and to give them full power and authority to determine upon them.

The 27th of November, in the same year, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, did swear certain witnesses against Thomas Arthur, as they had done before against Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of master Arthur; which being ended upon certain interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him, by virtue of his oath, that he should not reveal his examinations, nor his answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

The 2d day of December, the bishops assembled again in the same place, and sware more witnesses against master Bilney. That done, they called for master Arthur; unto whose charge they laid these articles following:

1. That he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray especially for those that now be in prison.—Which article he denied.

2. That he said, That though men he restrained to preach now-a-days, (which is against God's law,) yet I may preach, first, by the authority of my lord cardinal, for I have his license; secondly, by the authority of the university; thirdly, by the Pope; fourthly, by the authority of God, where he saith, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." By which authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the Pope, that may make any law

to hinder any man from preaching the gospel.—This article he confessed that he spake.

3. When he spake of laws, he brought a similitude of crosses, set up against the walls of London, that men should not make water there. When there was but *one* cross, or a few more, men did reverence them, and did not make water there; but when there was in every corner a cross set, then men of necessity were compelled to make water upon the crosses. So in like manner, when there was but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to disobey them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage; and such as were pecuniary, those they do observe, and such as are not pecuniary, those they call chaff, and regard them not. And so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the law.—He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.

4. He said, Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people, good people, (which words he often rehearsed, as it were lamenting,) think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken.—This article he confessed, that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants.

5. That every man, yea, every layman, is a priest.—He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his sermon, that every Christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer. And if they did murmur against the order of priesthood, they did murmur against themselves.

6. That men should pray to no saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator for them, but Christ Jesus our Redeemer.—This article he denied.

7. He preached, that they should worship no images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones.—This he also denied.

8. He did preach upon Whitsunday last, within the University of Cambridge, such or like words and sentences: That a bachelor of divinity admitted of the university, or any other person, having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and desist for no man, of what estate or degree soever he were; and if any bishop did accurse them for so doing, their curses should turn to the harm of themselves. —He confessed this.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, the said master Arthur did revoke, and condemn the said articles against him mi-

nistered, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church.

The 3d day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to turn to the church of Rome, the bishop of London in discharge of his conscience, as he said, lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibit unto the notaries, in the presence of the said master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which all and every one he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again.

Which articles and answers, with three of the same epistles, next follow truly drawn: partly out of his own hand-writing, and partly out of the register.

First, he said, Pray you only to God, and not to saints, rehearsing the Litany; and when he came to *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, he said, Stay there.

That Christian men ought to worship God only, and not saints.

That Christian people should set up no lights before the images of saints; for saints in heaven need no light, and the images have no eyes to see.

These five hundred years there hath been no good Pope, nor in all the times past can we find but fifty; for they have neither preached nor lived well, or conformably to their dignity; wherefore till now they have borne the keys of simony. Against whom, good people, we must preach, and teach you. For we cannot come to them; it is great pity; they have sore slandered the blood of Christ, &c.

The 4th of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, assembled in the chapter-house of Westminster; whither master Bilney was brought, and admonished to abjure and recant, who answered, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop of London, *ex officio*, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his answers. That done, the bishop exhorted him to deliberate with himself whether he would return to the church, and renounce his opinions, or not. Who answered, *Let justice and judgment be executed in the name of the Lord.* And he would make no other answer. The bishop after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered.* And making a cross on his fore-

head and his breast, he gave sentence against Mr. Bilney, in this manner:—

"I, by the counsel and consent of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to-morrow."

On the 5th, the bishops assembled again; before whom Bilney was brought. When they asked, if he would return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies? Whereupon Bilney answered, That he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men, of honest life, on his part, against one to the contrary. Which witnesses, the bishop said, came too late; for, after publication, they could not be received by the law.

Then the bishop put master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellows; and afterwards called him in, and asked whether he would abjure? But he would make no other answer than before. The bishop granted him a little time to deliberate with master Dancaster. But Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with master Farmer and master Dancaster: the bishop granted him two nights respite. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration: which the bishop granted.—When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in these premises, he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed and delivered it to the bishop; who then did absolve him, and for his penance enjoined him, that he should abide in prison appointed him by the cardinal, till he were by him released; and moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, bare-headed, with a faggot on his shoulder, and should stand before the preacher at St. Paul's cross, all the sermon time.

Thus have you the abjuration of Thomas Bilney. After which the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair.

This good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space of two years. When he, by God's grace came to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to give his life for the confession of that truth which before he had renounced: and immediately departed to Norfolk, and preached first privily in houses, to confirm the brethren and sisters. Then preached he openly in the fields, the doctrine which he before had abjured, and willed all men never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. Whereupon he was apprehended,

and carried to prison, there to remain till bishop Nix sent up for a writ to burn him.

The friars and religious men, with their doctors, civil and canon, resorted to him, labouring to persuade him not to die in these opinions, saying, *He should be damned body and soul if he so continued.* Among whom, were sent to him, Dr. Call, minister or provincial of the grey-friars, and Dr. Stokes, an Augustine friar.

Dr. Call, through the means of Bilney's doctrine and good life, was reclaimed to the gospel's side. Dr. Stokes remained obdurate.

After this, the night before his execution, he had divers of his friends; one of whom finding him eating with such a quiet mind, said, he was glad to see him, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered, "O I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow costs as long as they may, to hold it up. And so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same, as ye see." And here he treated of this place of Scripture, "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou goest through the water, I will be with thee, and the floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee; for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel."

When the officers of execution, with their halberts, were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called *Bishopsgate*, in a low valley commonly called the *Lollard's Pit*, under St. Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the people's quiet, to see the execution;) at the coming forth of Bilney out of the prison, one of his friends came to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto he answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he is tossed in the billows, but yet in hope that he shall come to the quiet haven, he beareth in comfort the perils which he feeleth: so am I now, and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers."

And so he came to the place of execution, and descended from the hill, apparelled in a layman's gown, with his sleeves hanging down, and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation; a little body in person, but always of a

good upright countenance, and drew near to the stake, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak to the people:

"Good people! I am come hither to die, and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a firm faith the articles of my creed." And then began to rehearse in order, as in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to God; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word "crucified," he humbly bowed himself, and made great reverence, and then proceeded in the articles; and coming to these words, "I believe the Catholic church, (there he paused, and spake these words,) Good people, I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall in Cambridge, where I was fellow, earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, shewing, that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and, thereby, ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit, I trust at the general day, charity, that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment-seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring his death.

This done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterwards stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death; and ended with the 143d psalm, beginning, "Hear my prayer, O Lord; consider my desire;" and the next verse he repeated in deep meditation thrice: "And enter not into judgment with thy servant; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." And so finishing that psalm, he ended his private prayers.

After that he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready; and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, Dr. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, but spoke very few words for weeping; unto whom Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these: "O, master doctor, feed your flock, feed your flock! that when

the Lord cometh he may find you so doing: and farewell, good master Dr. and pray for me;" and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping.

And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, and priors of their houses, being there present, (as they were maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c.) came to him, and said, "O, master Bilney, the people be persuaded, that we be the causes of your death, and that we have procured the same; and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Whereupon the said Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, and said, "I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they." And so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire on the reeds, which made a very great flame, which sparked and deformed the appearance of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes Jesus, and sometimes Credo; which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, (which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great) and so for a little pause he stood without flame, the flame departing thrice ere the wood took strength to be sharper to consume, and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered, bowed down upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halbert smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it; and so he was consumed.

In 1532, *Richard Bayfield*, a monk of Berry, was converted by Doctor Barnes, and much edified by two godly citizens of London, brickmakers, and wardens of their company, M. Maxwel, and M. Stacy, who, by their holy conversation and private instructions, were the instruments of the conversion and edification of very many men and women, The occasion of R. Bayfield's conversion was this: Doctor Barnes used oft to resort to the Abbey of Berry, to one Doctor Ruffam, who had been his fellow-student at Lovane: at this time Bayfield was chamberlain of the house, to provide lodging for strangers: he delighted much in Dr. Barnes's talk, and of the two citizens above named; and at last Dr. Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the citizens gave him one in English, of Tindal's translation, with some other good books. Bayfield, for two years, so studied these books, and profited thereby, that for the same he was cast into the Abbey prison, and there cruelly whipt with a gag in his mouth, and then set in the stocks, where he continued in torments nine months before Dr. Barnes could get him out, which he procured

by Dr. Ruffam's means, and so Bayfield was committed to Dr. Barnes, to go with him to Cambridge; there he profited so much in learning, that he never returned to his Abbey again, but went to London to Maxwel and Stacy, who kept him privately awhile, and then conveyed beyond sea; Dr. Barnes being then prisoner in the fleet for the truth of Christ.

Bayfield joining with Tindal and Frith, profited exceedingly in the knowledge of the truth, and carrying over much substance with him, was very helpful to them: he sold also all their books, and the German books for them, both in France and England. At last coming to London to one M. Smith's, in Aldermanbury, he was betrayed, and from thence dogged to his warehouse, where his books lay, in Mark Lane, and there apprehended, and committed to Lollard's Tower, from whence afterwards he was removed to the Bishop's coal-house, and there more cruelly handled than he had been in Lollard's Tower, for he was tied both by the neck, and middle, and legs, standing upright by the wall; he was also tormented to enforce him to accuse those that had bought his books of him; but he would accuse none, and stood to the confession of his faith even to the end, though he was put to his trial in the Consistory, and urged to abjure, which he utterly refused, and in disputation put them to great shame. And being asked for what intent he brought those books into the realm, he answered, To the intent that the gospel of Christ might be promoted, and God the more glorified amongst Christians; confessing further that he had sold and dispersed many of these books to sundry persons in the kingdom, and to divers in the diocese of London. At last they proceeded to his sentence, at which time he boldly said unto them, "The life of you of the spirituality is so evil, that ye be the heretics; and ye do not only live evily yourselves, but maintain the like in others; ye also hinder that it may be known how men ought to live," &c. Then was he condemned for an heretic, and degraded, and so delivered over to the secular power. When the Bishop of London had degraded him, he smote him so hard on his breast with his crosiers staff, that he knocked him down backwards in a swoon, and brake his head; but when he came to himself again, he praised God that he was delivered from the malignant church of antichrist, and that he was come into the true church of Jesus Christ militant here on earth, and trusted anon to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant for ever; and so by the sheriffs he was carried to Newgate, where he continued about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire with a joyful and courageous heart. Much cruelty was shewed in his burning, as for want of fire he continued half an hour alive; and when his left arm was burnt,

he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body. He continued in prayer to the end, without moving.

About the same time *John Tewksbury*, leather-seller of London, was brought before Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, and accused for having Tindal's Testament, and the Bible written, and some other good books. Before them he made a good confession of his faith; yet at last through their subtle dealing, and human frailty, he was drawn to abjure, and was enjoined a severe penance. But it pleased God ere long to recall him to the truth, by seeing the courage and constancy of Bayfield at the time of his burning: and so after two years he was again called before Sir Thomas More, and the Bishop of London, where he had many articles laid in against him, to which he answered very resolutely, and Christian-like, and for which he was condemned, and delivered over to the secular power, and so by the sheriffs was carried into Smithfield, and there burnt.

Edward Freese, born in York, and there apprentice with a painter, being of a pregnant wit, and working with his master in Bearsie-Abbey, the Abbate liking him, bought out his time of his master, and would have made him a monk: but the boy not liking that kind of life, ran away, and went to Colchester, where he used painting, married, and lived like an honest man; after a time he was hired to paint some clothes for an Inn, and in the upper part of those clothes he wrote certain sentences of Scripture, whereupon he was suspected for an heretic, apprehended, and carried to the Bishop of London at Fulham; there he was cruelly imprisoned with some others of Essex, viz. one Johnston, and his wife; Wylie, and his wife; Father Bates, &c. These were all fed with bread made of saw-dust, and so straitly looked to, that their wives and friends could not come at them. After they had thus remained in misery, the painter, upon the suit of his wife, was removed to Lollard's Tower; but whilst the woman was thus petitioning for her husband's remove, being desirous to see him, she being great with child, pressed towards the place where he was, whereupon the bishop's porter kicked her on the belly with his foot, so that the child presently died, and the woman not long after. These persons were set in the stocks a long time; then loosed, but with horse-locks on their legs, and other irons. The painter would be often writing on the wall with chalk, or a coal, which caused them to manacle his hands together, till his flesh grew higher than his irons. At last the king was petitioned to for his release, and after long suit he was brought again before the Bishop, but was kept three days without meat before he came to his answer, by reason of which, and other cruel usage, he was distracted, so that he never came to his wits to his dying day. Not long after his brother Valen-

tine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Master *James Bainham*, whose father was a knight in Glocestershire, was carefully educated by his parents, both in learning and religion, so that he was well skilled both in the Latin and Greek tongues: afterwards he applied himself to the study of the law. He was of a virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, much addicted to prayer, and a diligent reader of the holy Scriptures; a great maintainer of the godly, liberal to scholars, a visiter of prisoners, very merciful to his clients, ready to give council to widows, fatherless, and afflicted, without money, or reward: at last he was suspected, and complained of to Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor of England, and being by a warrant from him arrested in the middle temple, he was carried before him to Chelsea, where he continued a prisoner for a while: Sir Thomas More, in the mean time, labouring both by frowns and flattery to withdraw him from the truth; but when that prevailed not, he caused him to be bound and whipt at a tree in his garden, and then sent him to the Tower; and after a while Sir Thomas More being present, he caused him to be cruelly racked till he was lamed, because he would not accuse his acquaintance of the temple, nor discover where his books lay: then was his wife imprisoned, and his goods confiscated. A while after he was carried before Stokesley, Bishop of London, and examined upon sundry articles, to which he made a clear and stout answer, not declining from the truth in any particular. The next day he was brought before the Bishop again, and demanded whether he would still persist in what he had formerly said, or whether he would return again to the Catholic church; adding moreover many fair, enticing, and alluring words, saying, the time was yet that he might be received to favour, the bosom of his mother being open for him; whereas if he continued stubborn, there was no remedy. Bainham hereupon began to waver between desire of life, and fear of death, and therefore said, that he was willing to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended; yet were his answers such, that the Bishop, before he would release him, would make farther trial of him, and therefore committed him to the Counter, and not long after he was again brought forth into the Bishop's Consistory, and by his Chancellor was asked whether he would stand to his former answers, protesting that he intended not to receive him into the unity of the holy church, except he returned faithfully and unfeignedly to the Catholic faith. To which Bainham answered, that he did unfeignedly believe in the holy church, and hold the Catholic faith; then did the Chancellor offer him a form of abjuration in these words, "I voluntarily, as a true penitent person, return

from my heresies, and utterly abjure them," &c. But Bainham answered, that he knew not the articles contained in that abjuration to be heresy, and therefore he saw no reason to abjure them: hereupon the Chancellor began to read his definitive sentence, but stopped in the midst, saying, that he would reserve the rest till he saw his time, and so sent him back to prison; and five days after he was again sent for into the Consistory, and the Chancellor again demanded of him whether he would yet abjure, and submit himself? Bainham was contented, and so laying his hand on the book, he read his abjuration: but when he had done, he said, that because there were many words in the abjuration which were difficult and obscure, he protested that, by his oath, he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his oath. This so vexed the Chancellor, that he took the definitive sentence in his hand, saying, Take your oath, and kiss the book, or I will do mine office against you: then did Bainham kiss the book, and subscribed his abjuration: then did the Chancellor fine him twenty pounds to the king, enjoining him penance to go before the cross in procession, to bear a faggot, &c. after which he was to return to prison again, and there to abide the Bishop's determination; and after a while he was dimissed, and returned home. But it pleased God, within a month after, to shew him his sin, so that he greatly bewailed his abjuration, and could never be quiet in his mind and conscience till he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness before the congregation of the faithful, which met privately in a warehouse in Bow Lane; also the Sabbath following he went to St. Austin's Church, with an English New Testament in his hand, and standing up there in his pew, before all the people, declared openly, with abundance of tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to be warned by his fall, that they do not the like; for, said he, if I should not return again to the truth, this word of God (holding up the New Testament) would damn me, both body and soul, in the day of judgment; and therefore he entreated them all rather to die presently, than to do as he had done, for he would not feel such an hell in his conscience again for all the good in the world. Besides, he also wrote letters to the Bishop and to others, for which he was presently after apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London, and shortly after he was brought before Foxford, Vicar-general to the Bishop of London, who read to him his articles contained in his abjuration, and shewed him a book, which Bainham confessed to be his own writing, saying, that what was contained in it was good: he also shewed him the letter which he wrote to the Bishop, which he also owned, &c. After all their proceedings, when he remained constant in the truth, the

sentence definitive was read against him, and he was delivered to Sir Richard Gresham, Sheriff of London, by whom he was sent to Newgate, and afterwards being carried into Smithfield, he was there burnt, April 30, 1532. During his imprisonment he was cruelly handled, for about a fortnight he lay in the Bishop's coal-house, in the stocks, with irons upon his legs; then was he carried to the Lord Chancellor's, and there chained to a post two nights; then was he carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled for a week together; then to the Tower, where for a fortnight together he was scourged with whips, to enforce him to recant his opinions. As he was at the stake to be burnt, in the midst of the flames which had half consumed his arms and his legs, he spake these words: "O ye Papists, behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in a bed of down; but it is to me as a bed of roses."

In 1532, there was an idol named the Rood of Dover Court, unto which multitudes of people went on pilgrimage; whereupon divers godly persons of Dedham were much troubled in their consciences to see God so dishonoured, and his glory given to an idol; wherefore they were stirred up by God's Spirit, in a frosty moonshine-night, to go from Dedham ten miles to the place where the idol stood; and when they came thither they found the church doors open, the Popish clergy having spread a rumour, that such was the power of this Rood, that no man could shut the church doors where it stood: then did they take the idol from his shrine, and carried it a quarter of a mile off, where, striking fire, they burnt the idol to ashes, and so returned. For this three of them, viz. *Robert King*, *Robert Debnam*, and *Nicolas Marsh*, were indicted of felony, and condemned to be hanged in chains, which was afterwards executed.

Robert King was hanged at Dedham; Robert Debnam at Cataway Causey; and Nicholas Marsh at Dover Court. These three godly persons, at the time of their death, wonderfully edified the people, both by their Christian exhortations, and their holy example, in dying constantly in the faith of Christ.

The Life of Thomas Benet.

About the same time there was one *Thomas Benet*, born in Cambridge, and Master of Arts in that University, a man very well learned, and of a godly life, who was very familiar with master Bilney; Benet, the more he increased in the knowledge of God, and his holy Word, the more he abhorred the idolatry, and corruptions of the times, and, therefore, fearing to continue in his own country, he went into Devonshire, 1524, and dwelt

in Torrington, where he taught a school; but that town not affording him a subsistence, at the year's end he removed to Exeter, where also he taught children, and maintained his family thereby: he was very courteous, and of an holy conversation; he greatly delighted to hear sermons, and was very attentive to them: what time he could spare from his school, he employed in the study of the Scriptures, having no converse with any but with such as were favourers of the gospel, and zealous for the truth: understanding that one William Strowd of Newnam, Esq. was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter, upon suspicion of heresy, he sent consolatory letters to him, and lest his letters should be suspected by this gentleman, he discovered himself to him, with the cause of his coming into that country, and amongst other passages he had this; "Because I would not be a whoremonger, or unclean person, I married a wife, with whom through God's mercy, I have laid hid in Devonshire from the tyranny of the Antichristian party these six years:" Thus increasing in knowledge, and seeing daily the glory of God to be blasphemed, he was so grieved in spirit, that he could not be at quiet, till he had uttered his mind; but first he began to deal privately with some of his friends, to whom he plainly discovered how abominably God was dishonoured, his Word contemned, his people, whom he had dearly purchased, by blind guides carried headlong to eternal damnation, and, therefore, he could no longer endure, but must, and would utter their abominations, and for the testimony of his conscience, and in defence of true religion, would yield himself willingly, as God would give him grace, to shed his blood in this quarrel: alleging that his death would be more profitable to the church of God, for the edification of his people, than his life could be.

His friends being overcome by his arguments, told him that they would pray for him, that he might be strong in the cause of God, and continue a faithful soldier to the end. Then did he give order for the disposal of his books, and shortly after he wrote his judgment in certain papers, which privately he set up upon the doors of the cathedral church, in which he wrote, "The pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God, and not the saints." Upon finding of these papers there was much ado, and great searching after the heretic, that should set them up: the major and aldermen busying themselves therein, but especially the bishop, and his doctors, were stung as with wasps; and to quench this fire, some of them were daily employed to confute this heresy in public: Thomas Benet the sabbath following, went to the cathedral church, and accidentally sat down by two men that were most busy of all others in searching after heretics: these men looking on Benet, said to

each other, This fellow is of all others likeliest to set up these papers, and it were good that he were examined, yet when they beheld his sober carriage, his attention to the sermon, and his diligent looking on his Latin Testament, they were so astonished that they had no power to speak to him, but went their ways, and left him reading on his book.

The canons and priests being much troubled how to find out the author of those bills, resolved to curse him whatsoever he were, with bell, book, and candle, which they proceeded to after this manner:

One of the priests clothed all in white, went up into the pulpit, divers friars stood round about, and the cross was held up with divers wax tapers lighted about it; then the priest began to preach on the text in Joshua: "There is an accursed thing amongst you;" which sermon he thus concluded: that the foul and abominable heretic which hath put up these blasphemous bills, was for that his blasphemy damnably accursed, and, therefore, he besought God, our Lady, St. Peter the patron of the church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up those blasphemous bills, that so God's people might avoid the vengeance; the manner of these cursings was very terrible to the spectators, who were miserably deluded with such superstitions. Then said the priest: By the authority of God, the Father Almighty, and the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse, and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell him, or her, whatsoever he, or she be, that have in spite of God and St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here on earth, and in spite of our reverend Father in God, John, our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, &c. which serve God daily in this church, fixed up such cursed and heretical bills full of blasphemy upon this, and other holy church doors. Excommunicated plainly be he, or she, and delivered over to the devil as perpetual malefactors, and schismatics: accursed let them be, and given over body, and soul to the devil: cursed be they in cities, and in towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate him, or her from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests, and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all pardons, privileges, grants, and immu-

nities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them: and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their souls if they be dead this night in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched, and put out, (and therewith he put out one of the candles) and let us pray God if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out as this candle-light is, (and therewith he put out another candle) and let us pray to God, our Lady, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone, (and therewith he put out another candle) except they come now, and openly confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them lies, make satisfaction to God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this church, and as the staff of this holy cross now falls down, so may they, except they repent; and so the staff fell down.

Upon this dreadful curse, what a noise, and terrible fear were there amongst the people!

Master Benet, seeing all this foppery, laughed heartily at it, yet as privately as he could, but some there were that espied him, whereupon they asked him how he could laugh at such dreadful curses? Benet answered, "My friends, who can forbear seeing such merry conceits, and interludes played by the priests?" This caused them to cry out, Here is the heretic, here is the heretic, hold him fast, hold him fast: hereupon there was a great noise, and clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or not: so that they suffered him quietly to depart home to his own house: but he being not able to digest the lies there preached, caused his boy early in a morning to set up new bills upon the church yard gates, which whilst he was doing, one that went early to hear a mass, found the boy at the gates, and charged him with setting up those bills, wherefore pulling down the bill, he carried both it and the boy before the mayor of the city; and, thereby, master Benet being discovered, was presently sent for, and violently haled to prison: On the next day the canons began to examine him, to whom he confessed, that it was he that had put up the bills, and that if it were to do, he would do it again; for, said he, there is nothing in them but the very truth. Couldst not thou, said they, have spoken so much with thy mouth, as well as to have set up those bills? No, said he, I put them up that many might read them, and thereby know what abominable blasphemers you are, and that your pope is Antichrist, even that boar out of the wood that destroys the church of Christ, &c. But if I had spoken so much, I should presently have been clapped up in prison, and so the truth had been concealed,

&c. The next day they sent him to the bishop: who clapped him up in his own prison, kept him in the stocks, loaded him with irons, and shewed him less favour than a dog should have had: then associating to himself some others, he examined him: but he answered in such sort, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he confounded, and put to silence his adversaries, causing them much to admire him: then did they rifle his house, shamefully abused his wife, charging her with divers enormities: but she like a good woman took all patiently, and was willing to bear the cross with her husband.

Some of the friars did greatly torment their brains to find out how they might turn him from his opinions: but through God's mercy, Benet was at a point, not to deny Christ before men, so that at last they declared, that never was there such an obstinate heretic. Yet did they for divers days continually assault him, so that being weary of their company, he said, I take God to record that my life is not dear to me, I am content to depart from it; for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings to the utter destruction of Christ's flock; so that I desire death that I may no longer see your detestable idolatries, and superstitions, or be subject to Antichrist your pope, &c. Away from me, I pray you, and vex my soul no longer, you shall not prevail against me, &c. If I should hear, and follow you, everlasting death should be my portion, a just reward for all them that love a temporal before eternal life: away, therefore, from me, for your company likes me not.

During his imprisonment his wife provided food for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good, and godly exhortations, entreating her not to move him in any thing to comply with his adversaries.

When the canons and priests perceived that they could nothing prevail, neither by their flatteries, nor threatnings, they proceeded to judgment, drawing out their bloody sentence against him, and condemned him to be burnt, delivering him to Sir Thomas Denis, sheriff of Devonshire, 1531. The holy martyr rejoiced that his end approached so near, and as a sheep before the shearer yielded himself with all humility, and cheerfulness to take up the cross of Christ, and being brought to the place of his execution, he made his humble confession, and prayer to Almighty God, requesting all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity, and sobriety, above all things to seek the honour of God, and the saving knowledge of him, as also to leave the devices and fancies of men, in the service of God, that all the hearers and spectators, were stricken with great admiration, so that most of the people and the scribe himself that wrote the sentence of his condemna-

tion, confessed that he was God's faithful servant, and a good man. Yet two gentlemen, (master Thomas Carew, and master John Barnhouse,) laboured first by fair promises, and enticing words, and then by grievous threatnings, to draw him to a recantation, and to pray to our Lady, and the saints, to whom he meekly answered, saying, No, no, it is God only upon whom we must call, and we have no other advocate with the Father but Jesus Christ alone, who died for us, and now sits at the right hand of his Father to plead our cause; by him must we offer, and make our prayers to God, if we desire that they should find acceptance at the throne of Grace: Barnhouse was so enraged hereat, that he took a furze bush upon a pike, and having set it on fire, held it to his face, saying, Ah whoreson heretic, pray to our Lady, or by God's wounds I will make thee do it: to whom master Benet answered with an humble, and meek spirit, Alas, sir, trouble me not, and holding up his hands, he said, *Father, forgive them;* then was the fire kindled, and this holy martyr lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, said, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit,* and so continuing in prayer, he never moved his body, but with admirable patience endured the violence of the fire, till his life was ended. The popish party were so violent at his burning, that well was he, or she that could get a stick, or bush to throw into the fire.

As the king's marriage with the Lady Ann Bullen brought great joy to all godly men, so it much incensed the popish party; whereupon some monks and friars divulged amongst the common people, that they had a revelation from God and his saints, that he was highly displeased with the king's divorce from the Lady Catherine; and they further declared, that God had revealed to a nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the *holy maid of Kent,* that if the king persisted in his divorce, he should not continue king for a month to an end, &c.

In 1534, the king summoned a parliament, wherein the power of the Pope was abolished, and the king declared the Supreme Head of the Church. The University of Cambridge also, in the Regent-house unanimously declared against the power of the bishop of Rome: the like did many bishops. Yet the body of popery still continued in the land, so that in 1536, that faithful martyr of God, *William Tindal,* was betrayed, arraigned, and condemned, and gave his life for the testimony of the truth.

The same year followed the death and martyrdom of that good Queen *Ann Bullen,* who had now been married to the king about three years. She was a woman of rare and singular gifts of mind, well instructed in the true religion, with a fervent desire to advance and propagate the same. She was of a gentle and modest behaviour towards all; and so humble, that she was not only

willing to be admonished, but required her chaplains freely and plainly to tell her of whatsoever was amiss. She was very bountiful to the poor, insomuch that the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, amounted to the sum of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds: besides a great sum of money which she inteeded to have sent into four parts of the kingdom, to make a stock for poor artificers and workmen. She was a zealous defender of Christ's gospel; and by her means it was, that Master Hugh Latimer was made Bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Shuxton, a good man, was advanced to another bishopric. What her faith was, appears by this example:—King Henry being with her at Woodstock, was much afraid of an old blind prophecy, by reason whereof neither he, nor other kings before, durst hunt in that park, nor enter into the city of Oxford: but at last through the christian and faithful counsel of this queen, he was so animated, and encouraged against those foolish fears, that he both hunted in the park, and went to Oxford without receiving any harm thereby. She was a strong bulwark to the reformed religion, and to the professors thereof, which caused her to be much hated by her popish malicious adversaries, who ceased not till they had wrought her out of the affections of the king, by sinister suggestions, and false tales, and had brought in another Lady, upon whom the king casting his eye, and affecting change, he resolved to be rid of Queen Ann, by whom he had the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards our glorious Queen of England. For which end the king and queen being at Greenwich, to see a justs, suddenly in the midst of the sport, the king rose up, and with a few persons went to Westminster; and the next day after, Queen Ann, with the Lord Rochford her brother, and some others, were carried to the Tower, and within less than three weeks after, she was beheaded, the cause whereof was scarce ever since known. At the time of her death she spake to this purpose:—"Good Christian people, I come hither to die, being adjudged thereunto, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I come not hither to accuse any man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused, and for which I am condemned: I pray God to save the king, and to send that he may reign long over you, &c. And if any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all; and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord, have mercy upon me! to thee, O God, I commend my soul:" and so kneeling down she said, "To Christ I commend my soul! Jesus receive my soul." Which she repeated divers times, till her head was stricken off. The third day after, the king was married to the Lady Jane Seymour.

John Lambert was born and brought up in Norfolk, and was first converted by Master Bilney. He studied in the University of Cambridge, and having sufficiently profited in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, he translated divers books into English out of both those languages; and at last when persecution grew hot, he went beyond the seas, to master Tindall and master Frith, with whom he abode above a year, and was Preacher to the English merchants at Antwerp, till by the advice of Sir Thomas More, and the cunning craft of one Barlow, he was carried from Antwerp to London; and being brought before archbishop Warham, he was charged with forty-five articles, whereunto he returned an excellent and learned answer in writing. This was in 1532. But shortly after Warham dying, Dr. Cranmer was made archbishop of Canterbury; and partly by his means, and partly by the help of Queen Ann Bullen, master Lambert was delivered out of prison. And so returning to London, he set up a school, wherein he taught the Latin and Greek tongues. And seeing that ministers could not be allowed at that time to marry, he left his ministry, and wholly betook himself to his school, intending to marry. Thus he continued a school-master with great commendation and approbation, and to the great benefit of youth, till 1538; at which time being present at a sermon in Peter's church, there preached one Dr. Taylor, a man that was a favourer of the truth. After sermon master Lambert went to the preacher, desiring to be satisfied in divers things, especially about the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament. Dr. Taylor told him that he had other business for the present, but wished him to write his mind, and to come to him at another time. Master Lambert went his way, and having written his mind, repaired to him at another time. For the confirmation of his opinion he had quoted Scriptures, set down reasons, and brought the opinion of the doctors. Taylor willing to satisfy master Lambert, advised with divers, but especially with one Dr. Barnes, who favoured the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, yet liked not master Lambert's opinion in this point: whereupon he persuaded master Lambert to put up this matter to archbishop Cranmer; and thus the matter, which at first was but a private conference, became now a public business; and master Lambert was sent for by the archbishop into the public court, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop as yet favoured not the doctrine of the sacrament; and the rumour of this disputation was presently spread abroad all over the king's court.

At this time Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was one of the king's counsel, who was of a cruel nature, and withal subtle and politic, ever watching an opportunity to hinder the

progress of the gospel: and upon this occasion he went straight unto the king, telling him how much hatred he had procured to himself, by abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority, by the demolishing monasteries, and by the divorce of Queen Catherine, so that he was reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions: but now the time served for his taking off all these aspersions and clearing himself, if he would vigorously proceed against John Lambert for his heresies, &c. The king willingly hearkened to this counsel; and thereupon presently sent out a general commission, commanding all his nobles and bishops to come with all speed to London, to assist him against heretics and heresies, which the king himself would sit in judgment upon. And thus all things being prepared, a day was set for master Lambert's appearance. A great concourse of nobles was there, and all the scaffolds filled with spectators. By-and-by the faithful servant of Christ, master Lambert, was brought from prison with a guard of armed men, as a lamb to fight against many lions, and placed over against the king's seat; so that now they tarried but for the king's coming, who at last came as the judge of that controversy. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind all the famous lawyers, and on the left hand the peers of the realm, &c. which was enough to have daunted the innocent servant of Christ; but especially the king's looks, his cruel countenance, and brows bent in a severe manner. Who, turning himself to his counsellors, called forth Dr. Day, bishop of Exeter, commanding him to declare to the people the cause of this great assembly. The sum of the bishop's oration was, that though the king had abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome, yet he would not have any think that he intended therewith to extinguish religion, or to give liberty to heretics to disturb the church's peace: as also that they should not expect any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; his purpose being only by the industry of himself and the bishops, to refute the heresies of this man present, and of all like unto him, and openly to condemn them in the presence of them all.

The bishop having ended his oration, the king stood up, and with bent brows looking upon master Lambert, he demanded of him what was his name? The meek lamb kneeling down, said, My name is John Nicholson, though ordinarily I am called Lambert; and so after divers questions and answers, the king bade him go to the matter, and declare his opinion about the sacrament of the altar. Then master Lambert gave God thanks, who had inclined the heart of the king, that himself disdained not to hear and understand the cause of religion. The rather, because it oft-times fell out, that through the cruelty of the bishops, divers innocent men in several places were privily murdered,

without the king's knowledge, &c. Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupted him, saying, "I came not hither to hear mine own praises, therefore go briefly to the matter without any more circumstances." Master Lambert being troubled at the king's angry words, paused a while, considering whither he might turn himself in this extremity. The king being more incensed hereby, said, "Why standest thou still? Answer what thy judgment is about the sacrament of the altar?" Master Lambert first quoted St. Augustine's judgment, and then plainly denied it to be the body of Christ. Then the king commanded archbishop Cranmer to confute his assertion. The arch-bishop made a short preface, and then disputed very modestly with master Lambert, who answered him very acutely and learnedly, so that the king seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the arch-bishop was intangled, and the people amazed. But Stephen Gardner, filled with malice, without the king's command interposed, and urged his argument, which Lambert easily wiped off, though he was interrupted, and taunted for his labour. Then Tonstal, bishop of Duresm, took his course, and after him, Stokesly, bishop of Lincoln: to both whom, master Lambert answered so, that both king and bishops raged exceedingly, so that he was forced to silence. After which, other bishops, being ten in all, pressed him with their arguments; so master Lambert, afflicted with taunts, amazed with the majesty of the place, the king being present, and tired with standing, having continued five hours together, and seeing no hope of prevailing by speech, resolved to hold his peace: and when they began to light up torches, the king said to him, "What sayest thou after all this pains taken with thee? Wilt thou live, or die? What sayest thou, thou hast yet free choice?" Master Lambert answered, "I submit myself wholly to the will of your majesty." The king replied, "Commit thyself into the hands of God, not of me." Master Lambert answered, "I commend my soul into the hands of God, but my body I wholly submit to your clemency." Then said the king, "If you commit yourself to my judgment, you must die, for I will be no patron to heretics:" and so turning to the Lord Cromwell, he bade him read the sentence of condemnation against him. Cromwell was at this time the great patron of the professors of the truth; yet through the malice and subtlety of Winchester, he was put upon this employment: and thus Satan sometimes makes use of one brother to destroy another; as he did here of Tailor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell, to destroy Lambert, who in a manner all of them afterwards suffered the like for the gospel's sake. And thus was master Lambert, in this bloody session, judged and condemned to death.

Upon the day which was appointed for him to suffer, he was

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brought out of prison by eight o'clock in the morning, to the Lord Cromwell's house, and so carried to a private chamber, where Cromwell desired forgiveness of him, for that which he had done. And when the hour of death came, master Lambert found much joy and comfort in his soul; and coming out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them; after which he was presently carried to the place of execution, which was Smithfield, where he was very cruelly handled. For when his legs were burned to the stumps, the wretched tormentors withdrew the fire from him, leaving but a small fire, and coals under him: then two of them thrust their halberts into his sides, wherewith they lifted him up as far as the chain would permit. Then master Lambert lifting up his hands, his finger ends flaming with fire, said, "None but Christ, None but Christ;" and so being let down again, he fell into the fire, where he sweetly ended his life.

Frith was a young man much famed for learning, and was the first who wrote against the corporeal presence in the sacrament in England. He followed Zuinglius's doctrine on these grounds:—Christ received in the sacrament gave eternal life, but this was given only to those who believed, from which he inferred that he was received only by faith. St. Paul said, that the fathers before Christ eat the same spiritual food with Christians; from which it appears, that Christ is now no more corporeally present to us than he was to them; and he argued from the nature of sacraments in general, and the end of the Lord's supper, that it was only a commemoration. Yet, upon these premises, he built no other conclusion but that Christ's presence was no article of faith. These reasons he put in writing, which falling into the hands of Sir Thomas More, were answered by him: but Frith never saw his publication till he was put in prison; and then, though he was loaded with irons, and had no books allowed him, he replied. He insisted much on the argument, that the Israelites did eat the same food, and drank of the same rock, and that rock was Christ; and since Christ was only mystically and by faith received by them, he concluded that he was at the present time received only by faith. He shewed that Christ's words, "This is my body," were accommodated to the Jewish phrase of calling the lamb the Lord's passover; and confirmed his opinion with many passages out of the fathers, in which the elements were called signs and figures of Christ's body; and they said, that upon consecration they did not cease to be bread and wine, but remained still in their own proper natures. He also shewed that the fathers were strangers to all the consequences of that opinion, as that a body could be in more places than one at the same time, or could be in a place

in the manner of a spirit: yet he concluded, that if that opinion were held only as a speculation, so that adoration were not offered to the elements, it might be well tolerated, but that he condemned as gross idolatry. This was intended by him to prevent such heats in England, as were raised in Germany between the Lutherans and Helvetians, by reason of their different opinions concerning the sacrament.

For these offences he was seized in May, 1533, and brought before Stokesly, Gardiner, and Longland. They charged him with not believing in purgatory and transubstantiation. He gave his reasons that determined him not to look on either of these articles of faith; but thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined positively. The bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to sentence; but he continuing resolute, Stokesly pronounced it, and so delivered him to the secular arm, obtesting, that his punishment might be moderated, so that the rigour might not be too extreme, nor yet the gentleness of it too much mitigated. This obtestation by the bowels of Christ was thought a mockery, when all the world knew that it was intended that he should be burnt. One Hewet, an apprentice of London, was also condemned with him on the same account.

They were brought to the stake at Smithfield on the 4th of July 1533. On arriving there, Frith expressed great joy, and hugged the faggots with some transport: a catholic priest who stood by, derided them, and manifested the greatest malignity towards them: after which the fire was kindled, which consumed them to ashes.

Andrew Hewet, born in Feversham, in the county of Kent, a young man of the age of four and twenty years, was apprentice with one master Warren, a taylor, in Watling-street. He went upon a holiday into Fleet-street; towards St. Dunstan's he met William Holt, who was foreman to the king's taylor, master Malte; and being suspected by Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk, he went into an honest house about Fleet-bridge, which was a bookseller's house. Holt, sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding Andrew, apprehended and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons; and being there, he had a file conveyed to him; wherewith he filed off his irons, and got out of the gate. But being a man unskilful to hide himself, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, who was a hypocrite; Withers understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the country,

from Low-Sunday to Whitsuntide, and then brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman, in Hosier-lane, near Smithfield, and there left him by the space of two days.

Then he came to Chapman's house again, and brought Holt with him; who said, for his part, if he should bring any man into trouble, it were a pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up; insomuch, that they would needs sup there that night, and prepared meat at their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain guests with them; because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt took out of his purse two groats, and gave them to the said Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibauld, who was banished from his own house, for he had been four times in prison for Christ's sake.

Within an hour after Holt and Withers were gone, the bishop's chancellor, and one serjeant Weaver, came and brought with them the watch, and searched the house, where they found John Chapman, Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes, and carried them to the bishop's house; but Andrew Hewet they sent unto the Lollards' Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld asunder. The next day bishop Stokesley came from Fulham, and, after they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber: but by God's provision he was delivered out of prison, although he could not enjoy his house and land, because of the bishop's injunction, but was fain to sell all that he had in Essex; for the tenor of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house. And Chapman, after five weeks imprisonment, (whereof three weeks he sat in the stocks,) by much suit made unto the lord chancellor, Lord Audley, after many threatenings, was delivered. But Andrew Hewet, after long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with the above John Frith.

When they were at the stake, one Dr. Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog. At which words Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

William Tindall was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child, in the university of Oxford, where, by long continuance he grew up, and increased as well in the

knowledge of languages and other liberal arts, as in that of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch, that living then in Magdalen-hall, he read privily to certain of the students and fellows of Magdalen-college, some parcel of divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures; and all that knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of unspotted life.

Having remained some time at Oxford, he removed to the university of Cambridge, where, having made great progress in his studies, he quitted that and went to Gloucestershire, and engaged himself to a knight, named Welch, as tutor to his children. To this gentleman's hospitable table used to resort several abbots, deans, and other great beneficed men, with whom Tindall used to converse and talk of learned men, particularly of Luther and Erasmus; examining, also, many questions relative to the Scriptures.

Tindall, being learned and well practised in religion, spared not to avow unto them simply his opinions, and if ever they objected to his reasonings, he would shew them the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together, till at length they became envious, and bear a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this it happened, that certain of these great doctors invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they spoke to him without the fear of contradiction, uttering their blindness and ignorance. Then Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tindall, began to reason with him about those matters; when Tindall, as usual, answered by Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the Lady Welch, a stout and wise woman, "Well, there was such a doctor, which may spend a hundred, another two hundred, and another three hundred pounds a year: and were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Tindall gave her no answer at that time, because he saw it would not avail. He was then about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, which, being finished, he delivered to his master and lady. Who, after they had well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were not so often called to the house, neither had they the countenance when they came as before. Which they perceiving, and supposing that it came by the means of Tindall, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew from the house.

As this grew on, the priests of the country clustering together,

began to storm against Tindall, railing against him in alehouses and other places. Of whom Tindall himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus testifieth, that he suffered much in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being rude and ignorant, God knoweth; which have seen no more Latin than that only which they read in their missalles; which yet many of them can scarcely read, except it be *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another called Lindwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of holy church, to discharge their conscience withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church. Thus these blind and rude priests flocking together to the alehouse, railed against him, affirming, that his sayings were heresy; adding, moreover, unto his sayings, more than he spake, and so accused him to the chancellor, and other of the bishop's officers.

Not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear, against Tindall. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain it is, that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he, by the way, cried heartily to God, to give him strength to stand in the truth of his Word.

When the time came for his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser could be brought, notwithstanding the priests of the country were present. So Tindall escaped out of their hands, and returned home again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, named Munmouth, who had been formerly chancellor to a bishop, and who had been of old a familiar acquaintance of Tindall, and favoured him. Unto him Tindall opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture; for to him he durst disclose his heart. After some discourse, the doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you be perceived of that opinion, it will cost you your life; I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

Not long after, Tindall happened to be in company with a certain divine, counted a learned man, and in disputing with

him, he drove him to that issue, that the doctor, burst out into these blasphemous words, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Mr. Tindall hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the pope, and all his laws:" and added, "That if God spared him life, ere many years, he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did."

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing more against Tindall, they never ceased barking at him, saying, "That he was an heretic in sophistry, in logic, and in divinity;" and, moreover, "That he bare himself boldly to the gentlemen in that country; but, notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal." To whom Tindall said, "That he was contented they should bring him into any country in England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more, but to teach children, and to preach."

To be short, being so molested and vexed by the priests, he was constrained to leave that country, and seek another place; and coming to Mr. Welch, he requested his permission to depart, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I should be sorry." He accordingly departed, and came up to London, and there preached awhile, as he had done in the country before, and especially about the town of Bristol. At length thinking of Tonstal, then bishop of London, and especially the commendation of Erasmus, who in his annotations so extolleth him for his learning, thought within himself, that if he might enter his service, he were a happy man. Coming to Sir Henry Gilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the bishop for him; which he did, and willed him moreover to write to the bishop, and accompany him. But God, who secretly disposeth things, saw that was not the best for Tindall's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and, therefore, gave him little favour in the bishop's sight, who said, "That his house was full, he had more than he could well feed, and advised him to seek in London, where he could lack no service, &c." He, therefore, remained in London, almost a year, marking the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority; also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly vexed him. Insomuch, that he understood there was no room in the bishop's house for him to

translate the New Testament; nor place to do it in all England. And therefore, having some aid by God's providence, from his friend Humfry Munmouth, and other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed to Germany; where, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, he studied how, by all means possible, to bring his countrymen to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word which the Lord had endued him withal.

He perceived, that the principal cause of the people's blindness, and of the gross errors of the church, with all their evils, was, the Scriptures being concealed in an unknown tongue, by which the truth was kept out of sight, and the corruptions of the priests remained undetected; and therefore all their labours was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, worldly similitudes, apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the meaning of the text, would so delude, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses, laid before the unlearned lay people, that though they were sure that all were false, yet could they not solve their subtle riddles.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved of God to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the utility and profit of the simple people of the country. He first began with the New Testament, which he translated about the year 1527. After that he took in hand the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry learned and godly prefaces prefixed before every one, which he did also upon the New Testament.

He also wrote divers other works under sundry titles, amongst which was, "The obedience of a Christian man," wherein with singular dexterity, he instructed all men in the office and duty of christian obedience; with several other treatises, as "The wicked Mammon, the Practice of Prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other books also, answering to Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries of the truth.

His books being compiled, published, and sent over to England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness.

At his first departure, he had taken his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters, where,

after he had continued a season, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and resided mostly in the town of Antwerp.

The books he published, especially the New Testament, after they came into men's hands, wrought singular profit to the godly, while the ungodly priests disdaining that the people should be wiser than they, and fearing lest by the shining beams of truth, their hypocrisy be discerned, took great offence; as at the birth of Christ, Herod and all Jerusalem was troubled with him. An accident befel our zealous and persevering martyr, which occasioned a considerable delay. Having finished the five books of Moses, he set sail to Hamburgh with intent to print them there. But, on his voyage, he was shipwrecked, and lost all his manuscripts, with almost all he possessed. He, however, in another vessel, pursued his voyage, and arrived at Hamburgh, where at his appointment, Mr. Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a Miss Margaret Van Emmerson, anno 1529. So having despatched his business, he returned to Antwerp again.

When the New Testament, in the common tongue, came abroad, Tindall had added a letter, wherein he desired the learned to amend ought they found amiss. But the spiritual fathers of the clergy cried out against it, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly suppressed. Some said it was impossible to translate the Scripture into English; others, that it was not lawful for the laity to have it in their mother-tongue; some that it would make them all heretics. And to induce the temporal rulers also unto their purpose, they made matter, and said that it would make the people rebel and rise against the king. And they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the translation, so narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a dot over his head, they did note it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for an heresy. So great were then the forward devices of the English clergy, to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which they would neither translate themselves, nor yet suffer it to be translated of others.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed, and conspiring together with their heads and councils, how to repeal the cause of their alarm, never rested, before they had brought the king at last to their consent. By reason whereof, a proclamation was devised and set forth under public authority, but no just reason shewed, that the Testament of Tindall's translation, with other works both of his and of other writers, were inhibited. This was about the year 1527.

In the registers of London, it appeareth that the bishops and Sir Thomas More having any poor man under Coram, to be examined before them, namely, such as had been at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tindall, where and with whom he hosted, where stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparel he went, what resort he had, &c. All which things when they had diligently learned, as appeared by the examination of Simon Smith and others, then began they to work their works of darkness.

Tindall being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about a year in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman, who kept there a house of English merchants. About which time arrived thither out of England, Henry Philips, his father being customer of Pool, a comely fellow, and, in appearance, a gentleman, having a servant with him; but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Tindall was frequently invited to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by the means whereof Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that in a short space Tindall conceived a great friendship and confidence for him, brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Pointz, and had him also once or twice to dinner and supper, and further entered such friendship with him, that through his interest he lodged in the house of Pointz. He also shewed him his books and other secrets of his study, so little did Tindall then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Tindall how he came acquainted with him. Tindall answered, that he was an honest man, tolerably learned, and very agreeable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. Philips being in the town three or four days upon a time, desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town to shew him the commodities thereof; and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but, by the sequel, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time he learned, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king of England, and perceived about him a deal of mystery, and a sort of courting him to make him subservient to his designs, by the hopes of reward, he always appearing very full of money. But Pointz kept at a distance.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four English miles, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy, for the question betwixt Henry

and the lady Catharine; so that Philips as a traitor both against God and the king, was the better retained, as also other traitors besides him. To make short, Philips procured to bring from thence the emperor's attorney, with other officers; which was not done with small charge, from whomsoever it came.

A while after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philips' servant came unto him, and asked whether Mr. Tindall were there, and said, his master would come to him, and so departed. Whether Philips were in town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the master nor of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went on business to the town of Barrow, being eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and in the time of his absence, Philips came again to Antwerp to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Mr. Tindall, and whether he would dine there, saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then went he forth again to provide, and set the officers which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. About noon he returned, and went to Mr. Tindall, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; for, said he, I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Machelin. So Tindall took him forty shillings, the which was easy to be had of him, if he had it, for in the wily subtilities of this world he was simple and unexpert.

Then said Philips, "Mr. Tindall, you shall be my guest today." "No," said Tindall, "I am engaged this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner time, they went. At the going out of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in front. Tindall would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but insisted on Tindall's going before. So Tindall, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips a tall, comely person, followed him behind; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, which being there might see who came in the entry; and on coming through, Philips pointed with his finger over Tindall's head down to him, that the officers which sate at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the officers who took Tindall, afterward told Pointz, and said, that when they had laid him in prison, "they pitied his simplicity when they took him." Then they seized him and brought him to the emperor's procuror-general, where he dined. Then came the procuror-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Mr. Tindall's, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tindall was had to the castle of Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, where he remained until he was put to death.

Then, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent in the favour of Tindall to the court of Brussels. Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and there delivered to the council the letters from England, with the lord of Barrow's letters also.

When he had remained there three or four days, he was told by one that belonged to the chancery, that Tindall should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips being there, followed the suit against Tindall, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, "That he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tindall, and was one of the same opinion, and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Tindall at liberty, and no man else."

Thus, upon his accusation, Pointz was attached by the emperor's attorney, and delivered to the keeping of two serjeants at arms; and the same evening was ministered unto him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days one after another, upon more than a hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs, as of the messages concerning Tindall, and of his religion. Out of the which examinations, the procuror-general drew twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and declared the same against Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor in the law; order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the process were ended. Also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp, where his house was, nor to any other place, but by the post of Brussels, nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but such as were written in Dutch, and the procuror-general, who was party against him, to examine them thoroughly, before they were delivered: neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with him in any other language, except the Dutch, so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand. At one certain time the provincial of the white friars came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a young novice, being an Englishman, whom the provincial, after dinner, bid to talk with Pointz, and so with him he was licensed to talk. The purpose and great policy therein was easy to be perceived. Between Pointz and the novice was much talk, as of Sir Thomas More, and of the bishop of Rochester. After this Pointz delivered up his answer to the procuror-general.

As the commissioners came to Pointz, Philips the traitor ac-

companied them to the door following the process against him, as he also did against Tindall. Thus Pointz was greatly troubled, and long kept in prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, he made his escape. Tindall could not so escape, but remained in prison, and being brought unto his answer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor; but he refused to have any such, saying, "That he would answer for himself;" and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh, and upon the same brought forth to the place of execution, where he was tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterward with fire consumed in the morning, at the town of Filford, anno 1536, crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

One of the greatest supports of the true religion, and the most zealous forwarder of the reformation, was *Thomas Cromwell*, earl of Essex, who was son of a blacksmith at Putney, and born in the year 1498. Though he had little advantage from education, yet having a fine natural understanding, he rose by degrees into the confidential favourite, and at last prime minister, of Henry VIII.; and from the moment he possessed any influence in the cabinet, he employed it in promoting the reformation, to his zeal for which he became at last a victim: for the more firmly to promote the Protestant cause, he contrived to marry the king to Ann of Cleves, whose friends were all Luthereans. Unfortunately Henry took a disgust to this lady, which brought on Cromwell's ruin; the king, with his usual caprice and cruelty, taking this opportunity to sacrifice his minister to the Roman Catholic party, to whom he seemed desirous to reconcile himself as soon as he had Catharine Howard in view. In his zeal for Protestantism, Cromwell had introduced the unjustifiable mode of attainder in cases of treason and heresy; and his enemies (the ancient nobility and the Catholics) having preferred many complaints against him, availed themselves of his own law. He was attainted of treason and heresy, of neither of which he could be proved guilty; however, he was convicted unheard, and beheaded in 1540.

He was a great and good man, and the chief instrument of the suppression of the abbeys and monasteries, and of the destruction of images and relics. To him also we are indebted for the institutions of parish registers of births, marriages, and burials. The following prayer, repeated by him a few minutes before he was beheaded, gives us a very favourable opinion both of the soundness of his understanding, and the piety of his heart:—

"O Lord Jesus, which art the only health of all men living,

and the everlasting life of them which die in thee; I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt, by thy grace, make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins, and evil works, alas, I see a great heap; but yet, through thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins, but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, wast born for my sake; thou didst both suffer hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me, which hast given thyself also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and bloodshedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me, that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord, into thy hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit, Amen."

And thus having finished his prayer, after he had piously and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe.

Like as in foreign battles, the chief point of victory consisteth in the safety of the general; even so when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the Church of England, Thomas Cromwell, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and women ensued. For Winchester having gotten his full

purpose, and free to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that Aper Calydonius, (or, as the Scripture speaketh, that wild boar) what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest, by delays, he might lose the occasion which offered, he straightway made his first assaults upon *Robert Barnes*, *Thomas Garret*, and *William Hierome*, whom, within two days after Cromwell's death, he caused to be executed.

Doctor *Barnes*, after he came from the University of Lovaine, went to Cambridge, where he was elected Prior of the Augustine Friers. At this time the knowledge of letters was scarcely entered into the university; whereupon Dr. Barnes began to read in his house, Terence, Plautus, and Cicero, so that by his great pains and industry he caused the house to flourish with learning, and divers began to be eminent for their scholarship, amongst whom was Master Coverdal. After this foundation laid, he began openly to read Paul's epistles; and that he might advance Christ, and his holy word, he turned their unsavoury problems, and former fruitless disputations, to better subjects about the holy Scriptures, whereby in short space he made many good divines: the same order he also observed when he disputed in the University schools. Thus by his reading, disputations, and preaching, he became famous, and mighty in the Scriptures, always preaching against bishops and hypocrites, yet saw not the remainders of idolatry which himself practised, till good Master Bilney, and some others, converted him wholly unto Christ: then preaching publickly in Cambridge, he was accused of heresy by two fellows of King's hall. This stirred up some godly and learned men of Pembroke hall, and other colleges, often to meet together at a house in the town, which, in derision was, by their adversaries, called Germany.

Dr. Barnes' adversaries accused him in the Regent house; and articles being put in against him, he promised to return an answer to them, which accordingly he did at the next convocation: then did Dr. Nottaris move him to make a recantation, which he refused to do. Thus in Cambridge did this difference continue, one preaching against another for about a quarter of a year, at the end whereof a pursuivant at arms was sent down from London, who, for the terror of others, arrested Dr. Barnes in the convocation house, intending also to search for Luther's books in all their studies that were suspected to favour his doctrine: but Dr. Farman, of Queen's college, sent word immediately to all their chambers, so that when the pursuivant came, the books were all conveyed away.

The godly scholars met together that night, and drew up an answer for Dr. Barnes, which they gave him, and when he came to London, he was presently carried before Cardinal

Wolsey, where, after long attendance, he was admitted into his chamber, and caused to kneel upon his knees. Then said the Cardinal to him, what, master doctor, had you not sufficient scope in the Scriptures to preach on, but you must meddle with my golden shoes, my polaxes, my pillars, my golden cushion, my crosses? did these so offend you that you must make us ridiculum caput amongst the people? surely that sermon was fitter for a stage than the pulpit, &c. Dr. Barnes answered, that he spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to his conscience, and the ancient fathers, and withal delivered him six sheets of writing to corroborate his sayings. The Cardinal said, we perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to shew your learning? Yes, said Barnes, that I do, by God's grace, and your lordship's favour. Then said the Cardinal, such as you, bear *us* little favour. But whether do you think it better for us to have all this royalty for the terror of the wicked, or to sell all, and give it to the poor? Barnes answered, I think it is necessary to be sold, and given to the poor; for this is not comely for your calling. &c. Then the Cardinal said, what say you, master doctor? do you not know that I am Legatus de latere; and that I have power to dispense in all matters of religion? Barnes answered, that he knew it. Then said the Cardinal, will you be ruled by me, &c. Barnes answered, he would stick to the holy Scriptures, according to that simple talent that God had lent him. This angered the Cardinal so, that he would have sent him presently to the Tower; but at the request of two doctors he was returned that night to the serjeant at arms, and the next day was carried to the Chapter-house at Westminster. When he came thither there were five Stillyard men in question for Lollardy, and for bringing over some of Luther's books; but as soon as they saw Dr. Barnes they caused them to stand aside whilst they examined the Doctor after which they committed him, with the Stillyard men, all close prisoners to the fleet. Afterwards he was again carried before them, and, after many threats and scorns, they asked him whether he would abjure, or burn? but he being in great agony, resolved for the present rather to burn than to abjure: yet afterwards, by the crafty and subtle dealing of some pretended friends, he was drawn from his steadfastness, and brought to abjure, and to do a disgraceful penance in Paul's church, together with the Stillyard men; yet neither then would they dismiss him, but kept him prisoner, first in the fleet, afterwards in Austin Friers, in London, and at last they sent him to Austin Friers in Northampton, sending down after him a writ for his burning, which he having notice of from a friend, privily made an escape, and getting on a beggar's clothes, he went to London, and so by

sea to Antwerp, and from thence he travelled to Wittenberg, where he fell hard to his study, and wrote his book called *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*; and his supplication to King Henry the eighth, wherein he gives an account of all the subtle, malicious, and injurious dealings, of the Popish party with him, in this manner; In the year of our Lord 1525, saith he, and the 24th of December, at the request of the parish, I preached a sermon in Saint Edward's church in Cambridge, out of which sermon mine adversaries gathered some articles against me, which, when I knew of, I offered to preach again the next Sabbath, and to clear myself: but Dr. Ridley and Dr. Preston (chaplains and kinsmen to the Bishop of London) prevailed with the Vice-chancellor to inhibit me; yet could I never learn any reasonable cause why, but that he said, it should be for my profit to hold my peace. With this I was satisfied till the aforesaid doctors, and one Master Tyrill, drew up articles against me, and presented them to the Vice-chancellor, who, sending for me, asked me what I said to them? I answered, that they were none of mine, only some words and sentences in them I had spoken, but what should make for me that was left out, for which I referred myself to the auditory. The Vice-chancellor replied, that I must take heed what I denied, for if they brought witness against me I must die. I answered, that such witness should be false, for I never spake them: to which he replied, that I could not prove a negative, and were the witness true or false I must suffer for it, if they came in, for that was the law: to which I answered, that was a piteous case, for by that law they might condemn Christ himself. He replied, that I should consider what I did, for the matter was so heinous, that I could be admitted in law no counsel. Then said I, God help me which knoweth all things. This was in the schools, the doors shut fast, none present on my part, but of my adversaries, Dr. Ridley, Dr. Preston, Dr. Watson, and a doctor of law, with Master Fooke and Master Tyrill, who were appointed to present these articles against me. The Vice-chancellor, when he could get no more of me, asked me what I would do? I answered, that he should hear their complaint, and I would make such an answer as God should put into my mind. Then did Master Tyrill present a roll, in which were certain articles, as he said, gathered out of my sermon, of which some were contentious, some seditious, some slanderous, and some heretical. Then said I, Good Master Tyrill, will you present any of these articles as heretical? But the Vice-chancellor moved me to submit myself, whereto I said, whatsoever I have spoken against God's word, or the exposition of the holy doctors, I will be content therein to be reformed, and to submit myself. The other doctors were not satisfied with this, unless I would add, or if I

have offended the laws of the church. At this I stopped, and said, that it was too large, for I knew not what they meant by the laws of the church; it was sufficient for me to submit to God's word, and the exposition of the holy doctors: but when they would not be satisfied, I yielded that I would agree to all laws that were not against God's word, nor Saint Augustine, Hierom, &c. This was all that was done the first day; for by this time was the whole body of the University gathered together, who knocked at the doors, and said that they would hear my examination, seeing the cause was public, and a matter of learning that concerned the whole University, and therefore these few persons should not take upon them only and privately to hear and determine such causes; and when the Vice-chancellor could not satisfy them, he said, we must for the present give over this matter, for the University is in a tumult; and so we departed.

But two or three days after, I was called into Clare Hall to the Vice-chancellor's chamber, where also the aforesaid doctors gathered against me; there did they entreat me with flattering words to submit to master Vice-chancellor's counsel; whereupon I required to be indifferently heard by him, together with my adversaries, and then if I had said any thing against the truth, I would submit. They replied that it was for my good that he did not sit in judgment; for if witnesses should come in against me, as certainly they would, I were a lost man: to which I answered, that such must needs be false witnesses, for many learned men heard my Sermon, who would certainly testify the truth. They replied, that if three came in against me, twenty three would not help me, for that was the law, &c. After they had awhile conferred together privately, the Vice-chancellor came to me, and told me that, on his conscience, they were all my friends, and intended to save both my name and fame, which yet they could not do, except I followed their counsel. After a while, upon their much urging, I said, Right Worshipful masters, I trust ye be all my good friends, and have so much charity in you, as that you will not cast me away except you find me obstinate, which I trust you shall not do: for I never intended to speak any thing against Christ's truth; yet seeing the law is so dangerous as you have shewed me, I had rather put myself upon your charity, than to stand to the danger of it: and therefore to these articles I thus answer, that here are many words and sentences which I did speak, and therefore I submit myself to you, entreating your favour not to take me in the worst sense. Then after they had given me my oath to stand to their judgment, the Vice-chancellor, as he said, absolved me ab excommunicatione juris.

But herein they dealt treacherously; for unknown to me they

had a notary that wrote down all these passages, whereas they pretended to deal with me as friends, and as private persons, yet afterwards they made use of all, and put it into the court as a witness against me, when I was brought before the bishops.

Whilst these businesses were transacting, the body of the University gathered together, and sent up certain masters and bachelors of divinity to the Vice-chancellor, requiring that they might be admitted to hear my examination, forasmuch as they heard my sermon. Answer was made that there was no such matter in handling, but that they only conferred with me friendly, and gave me advice for my profit: yet to satisfy them I was dismissed for the present.

About a month after Doctor Watson and Doctor Preston, by the advice of the Vice-chancellor, drew up a recantation of every article by itself, wherein they would have me confess whatsoever was alleged against me, because, as they said, some men had understood me so; and herein they construed every thing in an evil sense, so that there was never an article but it was either heretical, seditious, contentious, blasphemous, or piis auribus offensivus. I had a friend that privately wrote out this recantation, which, when I had gotten, I sent for to my chamber Master Stafford, Master Bilney, and six or eight more of the most learned men that were in Cambridge, whose counsel I asked about this matter: they answered, that seeing this recantation was false and uncharitable, I could not with a good conscience agree to it: whereupon the Vice-chancellor and doctors called me again, and would have had me read this recantation the Sabbath after publickly in the church, where I had made my sermon, without saying more or less than what was written; yea, and that I should promise, that if I were afterwards convented by the higher powers, I should be content to suffer all pain and punishment that they should lay upon me. I refused to agree thereto, telling them that it was neither agreeable to learning, equity, nor charity, seeing I neither spake nor thought these things, but they were only false collections made by malicious persons, out of my sayings, contrary to my meaning. Upon this they were divided amongst themselves; some saying that I was bound by my oath to submit hereto; others saying that my oath bound me not, because, contrary to their promise, they had dealt so uncharitably with me, so that at last they gave me eight days time to return my answer what I would do.

In the mean time Master Tyrill posted to London, and procured Cardinal Wolsey to send down a serjeant at arms, who arrested me in the University, and carried me away to London; and the Wednesday night after I was carried before the Cardinal, who read over my articles, and asked me divers questions about

the same; after which I told him that these articles were uncharitably gathered out of my sermon. He asked me how I would purge myself from the suspicion of heresy? I answered that I would bring twenty honest, learned men, that should be my compurgators. He said, can you bring six or ten doctors of divinity? I told him that was impossible, for there were but two that heard my sermon, and they belonged to bishops, and therefore probably would not testify for me. Then said he, you must be burned; therefore consider with yourself whether you will stand to a course of law, or submit yourself to my grace. But having been formerly circumvented by submitting to the vice-chancellor, I resolved to be no more so hasty in doing the like again: after some other discourse, he told me that I was a fool, and perceived not how good he was to me, and, therefore, he appointed fifteen or sixteen bishops and doctors to hear, and examine me the next day. At which time the bishop of Bath told me that I was defamed for heresy, which I denied, and desired to know mine accusers. Nay, said he, we proceed after another form of law, &c. They asked me also divers other questions not at all pertaining to my articles, and after I had answered them, they laid their heads together to find out other captious questions, and thus they continued with me three days together, at the end whereof, there was a great long roll, or recantation offered me, and I was commanded to read it, and not to speak one word more or less before the people than what was contained in that roll; for, if I did, they would handle me well enough: Then I desired that I might first see what was contained in it; but this would be by no means granted. Then I desired to know whether they laid heresy to my charge in it; they answered, yea: then I desired to know what it was, for I taught no other but what Saint Augustine, Hierome, and other doctors of the holy church, had taught before me. They said, if Augustine, Hierome, &c. were present, they should stand to the determination of the church. I replied, that they were so far approved, that if any church should determine against them, I should suspect it. But they still urged me to give a positive answer whether I would read the recantation or not. Then said I, My Lords, I beseech you, for Christ's sake, deal charitably with me, remembring what Paul saith, your power is given for edification, not for destruction. Tell us, say they, whether you will read the roll or not? this is the third and last time of asking. I replied, I will not read it unless I may first see it, do with me as you shall please. When they had consulted together, they told me I should have one to read it to me; and so appointed a notary to go aside and read it to me. In the beginning of it was said, that whereas certain articles were gathered

out of my sermon, whereof some were scandalous, some seditious, some foolish, and some heretical. I asked him, which be heretical? He answered, it belongs not to me; I can make you no answer. Hereupon I replied, shall I be condemned for an heretic, and not be shewed my heresy? read no farther. Then returning to the bishops, I kneeled down, and desired them, for the passion of Christ's sake, to shew me which article they condemned for heresy, &c. But they answered, that I should read the roll, or else be burnt. Then said I, Jesus, have mercy on me; I will never read it. Upon this the other doctors cried out upon me on all sides, saying, Remember yourself, cast not away yourself after this manner; to read the roll is but a very small matter, you will be never the worse man, and you shall see that my Lord Cardinal will be good and gracious to you, and we will all speak for you; so that I supposed in very deed, that they would have required no more of me but to read the roll, that I might not seem to have the victory over them, which thing I regarded not, and having this opinion of them, and being overcome by their good and flattering words, I consented to read it: but then the Bishop of Bath said, it was too late; others said the contrary; at last all the people were called in (who were very many, and hitherto had been kept out) to hear me read it: then was I commanded to sign it, and make a cross on it; then to kneel before the bishop, and to desire absolution; but he refused to grant it, unless I would swear to perform the penance which should be enjoined me: and when, relying upon their charity, I had done all this, they sent me back to prison that night; and the next day being Sabbath I should do penance openly at Paul's: and to make the world believe that I was a notorious heretic, the Cardinal came with all his pomp, and pride, and all the Bishops and Abbots about the city, almost thirty in number, the more to advance their cause, and disgrace me. Then did the Bishop of Rochester preach a sermon against Lutherans, as if I had been convicted for one, and yet after all this I must return to prison, and there remain till my Lord Cardinal's further pleasure, which pleasure I did abide first and last two years and three quarters, and yet could not be delivered: and whereas I sent to the Bishop of London certain worshipful men of the city, who proffered to be bound for me, and much importuned him for my liberty, he dealt so with them, that when they came home, there was not any of them that durst so much as give me a bit of bread to relieve me in my necessity, nor yet speak one word to me. Immediately after this the Bishop caused me to be sent to Northampton, there to remain in perpetual prison. Thus, most gracious Prince, have they handled me, your poor orator! I beseech your Highness to be good and gracious to me, and to judge if this be chari-

table dealing, thus to condemn me for an heretic, and never to shew me the cause why, but by violent tyranny to compel me to do and to confess even what they please, or else I must be put to death: and if yet there be any of them that will come forth, and prove heresy against me, I will submit to suffer any punishment that your Grace shall adjudge me to. The Lord Jesus Christ preserve your Noble Grace evermore. Amen.

Dr. Barnes whilst he was at Wittenberg, repented much of his former backsliding, and grew more strong in Christ. He was greatly esteemed by Luther, Melancthon, Pomerane, Justus Jonas, &c. As also by the Duke of Saxony, and the king of Denmark, who sent him with some Lubeckers upon an embassage to our King Henry, at which time he lay at the Still-yard.

Sir Thomas More being then Lord Chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not suffer it; and so he departed again to Lubec without restraint, Cromwell being yet alive, and his great friend. After this he went again to Wittenberg, where he remained to set forwards his works in print. And King Henry having married the Lady Ann Bullen, he returned into England, and was a painful and faithful preacher in the city of London all her time. After that he was sent ambassador by the king, to the Duke of Cleve, about a marriage between the king and the Lady Ann of Cleve: and was well approved for his pains therein, and in all his other doings, till Stephen Gardiner returned out of France. After which time, neither religion, nor the queen, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers of the truth prospered. For this Stephen Gardiner never rested till he had caused the king to be divorced from the Lady Ann Cleve; whereupon he began his bloody broils.

And first he began with Dr. Barnes, against whom he presumed the king to have dislike, because he had been an instrument in promoting his marriage with the Lady Ann of Cleve. And this occasion fell out fitly for his turn. Lent was now at hand; and Dr. Barnes, master Hierom, vicar of Stepney, and master Thomas Garret, were appointed to preach at Paul's Cross. Gardiner hearing of it, sent his chaplain to the bishop of London, desiring to have a day before them to preach there. This was easily assented to, and Gardiner preached upon the Gospel appointed for the day, which was about the temptations of Christ, wherein he inveighed against the new way (as he called it,) and the preachers of it, comparing them to the devil in his temptations, &c.

Presently after, came Dr. Barns's turn, who preached upon the same text, and was as vehement on the contrary in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ, as Winchester had been in labouring to impugn the truth; and to draw men to error, from

sincerity to hypocrisy, from religion to superstition, from Christ to Antichrist; and in the process of his sermon he compared himself and Gardiner to two fighting cocks. But, said he, the Garden-cock wants good spurs; adding, that if he had answered him no better in the schools than he had done in the pulpit, he would have given him six stripes. Gardiner was so nettled with this sermon, that he presently went to the king, complaining how he, being a prelate of the realm, had been railed on at Paul's Cross. This so incensed the king, that sending for Barnes, and taking him into his private closet, before the Earl of Southampton and some others, he highly rebuked him, and after much debate, he appointed him to confer with Winchester. But after a while Dr. Barnes waxed weary of the bishop's house, and so withdrew himself. This being complained of with many aggravations to the king, he was greatly incensed against Barnes; enjoining him and his two companions, to preach two recantation sermons at the spitle, where Stephen Gardiner also was present to hear them.

When Dr. Barnes came up, contrary to most men's expectation, he boldly asserted the truth: and the like did Hierome and Garret after him. So that the lord mayor, after the sermon was ended, asked Winchester, whether from thence he should send Barnes to the Tower. But Winchester had rather that it should be the king's doing; and therefore by himself and his agents he so incensed the king, that they were all three presently sent to the Tower, where they continued from Easter till July, and then two days after the death of the Lord Cromwell, process was made against them, by the king's counsel in parliament: and within a few days after, these three servants of God, not coming to any answer, nor knowing the cause of their condemnation, and without any public hearing, were carried from the Tower to Smithfield. Where at the stake Dr. Barnes, to clear himself from the imputation of heresy, made a large and excellent confession of his faith; and afterwards he asked the sheriff if he had any articles against him for which he was condemned. The sheriff answered, No. Then, said he, is there any man else that knows wherefore I die: to which no man answered. Then, said he, I am condemned to die, and as I hear, by an Act of Parliament; but wherefore I cannot tell; but it seems for heresy, because I am to be burned. As for such as have been the occasion of it, I pray God to forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself, &c. I have been reported to have been a preacher of sedition, and disobedience to the king; but I profess to you, that you are all bound by the law of God, to obey your prince with all humility, &c. and that not only for fear of vengeance, but for conscience' sake. Yea, if the king should com-

mand you to do any thing against God's word, and you have power by force to resist him, yet you may not do it. Then did he request the sheriff to have him commended to the king, and to request him, for God's sake, to give at least part of the abbey-lands for the comfort and relief of the poor; to see that matrimony be had in more reverence, and that men for light occasions do not put away their wives, nor live in fornication, &c. To punish that abominable swearing that was so rife, and which otherwise would pull down vengeance. To set forwards Christ's true religion, and to perfect that reformation which he had begun, &c. Then did he desire all men to forgive him if he had any way offended them, and to bear him witness that he abhorred all false doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not to be saved. And so entreating them to pray for him, he prepared himself patiently to take his death, and resigned up his spirit into the hands of God.

Master *Thomas Garret*, minister of Honey-lane in London, having gotten sundry good books out of Germany, with Tindal's New Testaments, went to Oxford, to sell them amongst divers godly students there: but Cardinal Wolsey having intelligence hereof by his spies, first made search in London for him, and afterwards sent down to make a private search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all his aforesaid books, and him too, if they could; so *burning* hot was their charity. But at that time one of the aforesaid proctors, called Mr. Cole, of Magdalen college, who after was cross-bearer to Cardinal Wolsey, was well acquainted with Mr. Garret, and therefore he gave secret warning unto a friend or two of Mr. Garret's of this private search, and willed that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford; for if he were taken in the search, no remedy but he should be forthwith sent up unto the cardinal, and so he should be committed unto the Tower.

The Christmas before that time, I, Anthony Dalabar, then scholar of Alborn-hall, who had books of Mr. Garret's, had been in my country in Dorsetshire, at Stalbridge, where I had a brother, parson of that parish, who was very desirous to have a curate out of Oxford, and willed me in any wise to get him one there if I could. This just occasion offered, it was thought good among the brethren, (for so did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another,) that Mr. Garret, changing his name, should be sent forth with my letters into Dorsetshire, to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly from thence convey himself some whither over the sea. Accord-

ing hereunto I wrote my letters in all haste possible unto my brother, for Mr. Garret to be his curate, but not declaring what he was indeed: for my brother was a rank papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that ever I had for the gospel's sake.

So the Wednesday in the morning before Shrove-tide, Mr. Garret departed out of Oxford towards Dorsetshire, with his letters for his new service. How far he went, and by what occasion he soon returned, I know not. But the Friday next, in the night time, he came again to Radley's house, where he lay before; and so after midnight, in the private search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two proctors, and on the Saturday in the morning was delivered unto one Dr. Cotisford, master of Lincoln college, then being commissary of the university, who kept him as a prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists for his apprehension, and especially with Dr. London, warden of the new college, and Dr. Higton, dean of Frideswides, two arch papists, who immediately sent their letters in post-haste unto the cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable heretic. For which their doing they were well assured to have great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly burly I was utterly ignorant, so that I knew neither of Mr. Garret's sudden return, neither that he was taken, until that afterwards he came unto my chamber, being then in Gloucester college, as a man amazed; and as soon as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed, I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him? He said, he knew him not; but had been to see a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber, and therefore he desired his servant (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly removed thither,) to bring him to me; and so forthwith declared how he was returned and taken that night in the private search, as ye have heard; and that now when the commissary and all his company were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber he hearing nobody stirring in the college, put back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so came straight unto Gloucester college, to speak with that monk, if he had been within, who had also bought books of him.

Then said I unto him, Alas! Mr. Garret, by this your uncircumspect coming unto me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed yourself and utterly undone me. I asked him, why he went not unto my brother with my letters? He said, after that he was gone a day's journey and a half, he

was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return again unto Oxford; and so he came again on Friday at night, and then was taken, as ye heard before. But now with deep sighs and plenty of tears he prayed me to help to convey him away; and so he cast off his hood and his gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me; but I had none but priest like, such as his own was.

Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and, lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, desiring him with plenty of tears so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if his good pleasure and will so were; and then we embraced and kissed each other, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another: and so he departed from me apparalled in my coat, being committed unto the tuition of our almighty and merciful Father.

When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear I did with much deliberation read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel; and when I had so done, with prayer I did commit unto God our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, for Jesus Christ's sake, his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchsafe to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies, and also, that he would endue his tender and lately born little flock in Oxford, with heavenly strength, by his Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly, and with all godly patience, bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burden, without the great help of his Holy Spirit.

This done, I laid aside my books safe, folded up Mr. Garret's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among mine apparel; and so having put on my short gown, shut up my study and chamber doors, and went towards Frideswides, to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Mr. Clarke, and others, and to declare unto them what had happened that afternoon. But of purpose I went by St. Mary's church to go first unto Corpus Christi college, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by

the way with a brother of ours, one Mr. Eden, fellow of Magdalen-college, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, saying that we were all undone, for Mr. Garret was returned again to Oxford, taken last night in the private search, and was in prison with the commissary. I said it was not so. He said it was so. I told him it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He answered me, and said, I know he was gone with your letters, but he came again yesterday in the evening, and was taken in his bed at Radley's this night in the private search; for (quoth he) I heard our proctor, Mr. Cole, say and declare the same this day in our college to divers of the house. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone; for I spake with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did. And then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way; willing him to declare the same to our other brethren whom he should meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance, and to pray him also that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies; and told him that I was going unto Mr. Clarke, of Frideswides, to declare unto him this matter: for I knew and thought verily that he and divers others there were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to Frideswides, and even-song was begun, and the dean and the other canons were there in their grey amices; they were almost at *Magnificat* before I came thither. I stood at the quire door, and heard Mr. Taverner play, and others of the chapel there sing with him, and among whom I myself was wont to sing also: but now my singing and music were turned into sighing and musing.

As I thus stood, in cometh Dr. Cotisford the commissary, as fast as ever he could go, bare headed, as pale as ashes, (I knew his grief well enough,) and to the dean he goeth, into the quire, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully; what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truly guess. I went aside from the quire door, to see and hear more.—The commissary and dean came out of the quire wonderfully troubled, as it seemed.

About the middle of the church met them Dr. London, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed of them for keeping of his prisoner so negligently, insomuch that he wept for sorrow; and it was known abroad that Mr. Garret was escaped, and gone out of the commissary's chamber at even-song time; but whither no man could tell. These doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies every where.

Mr. Clarke about the middle of *Compline*, came forth from the quire; I followed him to his chamber, and declared what was happened that afternoon, of Mr. Garret's escape. He was glad, for he knew of his foretaking. Then he sent for one Mr. Sumner and Mr. Bets, fellows and canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, the wisdom of the serpent and the simplicity of the dove: for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Mr. Sumner and Mr. Bets were come to him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two; and they were very glad that Mr. Garret was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. Then desiring him to tell unto our other brethren what was happened, (for there were divers others in that college) I went to Corpus Christi college to comfort our brethren there, being in like heaviness. There I tarried and supped with them; at which supper we were not very merry, considering our state and peril at hand.

When we had ended our supper, and committed our whole cause with fervent sighs and hearty prayers unto God our heavenly Father, I went to Alborn-hall, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early, and as soon as I could get out of the door, I went straight towards Gloucester college to my chamber. It had rained that morning, and with my going I had besprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto Gloucester college, which was about six of the clock, I found the gates fast shut.—Whereat I did much marvel; for they were wont to be open daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the wall there a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the mean while my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so when the gate was opened, thinking to shift myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber, and going up the stairs, would have opened my door, but I could not in a long season do it. Whereby I perceived that my lock had been meddled withal, and therewith was somewhat altered. Yet at last with much ado I opened the lock, and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all to be tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study door open. Whereat I was amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Mr. Garret, and that it was known

of his being with me, by the monk's man that brought him to my chamber.

Now was there lying in the next chamber unto me a monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told how Mr. Garret was sought for in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the commissary and the two proctors, with bills and swords thrust through my bed-straw, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Mr. Garret. And although his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, yet they perceived them not.—Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, unto the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another gown; and therefore dirty as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him into the said prior's chamber, where I found the said prior standing and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night? I told him I lay at Alborne-hall with my old bed-fellow Fitzjames; but he would not believe me. He asked me if Mr. Garret were with me yesterday? I told him, yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me? I told him, I knew not where he was, except he were at Woodstock; for so, said I, he had shewed me that he would go thither, because one of the keepers there, his friend, had promised him a piece of venison to make merry withal the shrove-tide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. Then had he spied on my finger a big ring of silver, very well double gilt, with two letters A. D. engraved in it for my name; I suppose he thought it to be of gold. He required to see it: I gave it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for therein was his name, an A for Anthony, and a D for Dunstan. When I heard him so say, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever.

Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Garret came unto me, and where he was become. I had scarcely written three words, but the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men, were come unto master Prior, requiring him straightways to bring us away unto Lincoln-college, to the commissary and to Dr. London. Whither when I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cotisford, commissary; Dr. Higdon, then dean of the Cardinal's college; and Dr. London, warden of the new college, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought unto

them, after salutations given and taken between them, they called for chairs, and sat down, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my name was? I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the university? and I told them, almost three years. And they asked me what I studied? I told them that I had read sophistry and logic in Alborn-hall, and now was removed into Gloucester-college to study the civil law; which the aforesaid prior of the students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Mr. Garret, and how long I had known him? I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelvemonth. They asked me when he was with me? I told them, yesterday at afternoon.

Whilst they had me in this talk, one came to them which was sent for with pen, ink, and paper; I found it was the clerk of the university. As soon as he was come, there was a board and trestles with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a great mass book laid before me, and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such articles and interrogatories as should be by them proposed. I made some scruple, for awhile at first, but afterwards being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath, and that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then made they great courtesy between them who should examine me, and minister interrogatories unto me. At last the rankest papistical pharisee of them all, Dr. London, took upon him to do it.

Then he asked me again, by my oath, where Mr. Garret was, and whither I had conveyed him? I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet knew where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to Woodstock, as he shewed me he would. Then he asked me again when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me? I told him he came to me about even-song time, and that one brought him unto my chamber door, whom I knew not, and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry withal this Shrove-tide, and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none such to lend him; and then he straightway went his way from me, but whither, I know not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a book.

Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely, they said, I brought him going some whither this morning; for that they might well perceive, by my

foul shoes and dirty hosen, I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly, that I lay at Alborn-hall with Sir Fitzjames, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at even-song? I told them at Frideswides, and that I saw first master commissary, and then master Dr. London, come thither at that time unto master dean of Frideswides, and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth what I had done with him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be racked, and put into Little-ease. But master commissary prayed me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble straightway. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was gone. Thus they did toss me almost two hours in the chapel; sometimes with threatenings and foul words, and then with fair words and fair promises flattering me.

At the last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great chamber, over master commissary's chamber, wherein stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then master commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them, in which I sat, my feet being almost as high as my head; and so departed they, I think, to their abominable mass, locked fast the chamber door, and leaving me alone.

When they were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning of that most constant martyr, Mr. John Clarke, my father in Christ, who nearly two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him when and wheresoever he should teach or preach, said unto me, "Dalaber, you desire you wot not what, and that you are, I fear, unable to take upon ~~you~~ you; for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if you continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the cross of persecution, to try you withal, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as stubble and dross be consumed. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by St. Paul, that all who will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. Yea, you shall be called and judged a heretic, you shall be abhorred of the world, your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you, and you shall be cast into prison, and no man shall dare to help or com-

fort you, and you shall be accused and brought before the bishops to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your friends and kinsfolk. Then will ye wish ye had never known this doctrine; then will ye curse Clarke, and wish that ye had never known him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore rather than that you should do this, leave off from meddling with this doctrine, and desire not to be and continue in my company."

At which words I was so grieved, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and, with abundance of tears and sighs, from the very bottom of my heart, I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God, shewed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired, saying, that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me, and took me up in his arms, kissed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and said unto me, "The Lord Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ."

Now there were at this time in Oxford divers graduates and scholars of sundry colleges and halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which all resorted to Mr. Clarke's disputations and lectures in divinity, and when they might not come conveniently, I was by Mr. Clarke appointed to go to each of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture, that from him they might have the true understanding of the same; which exercise did me much good to the understanding of the holy Scriptures.

The aforesaid warning of this holy martyr coming to my remembrance, caused me with deep sighs to cry to God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him of his fatherly love to lay on me, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all; for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be blessed, I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen to me.

Before dinner Mr. Cotisford came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Mr. Garret was; and, if I would so do, he promised me straightways to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was; no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat? I told him, yea, right gladly. He said he would

send me some. When he was gone, his servants asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake to me fair, and some threatened me, calling me heretic, and so departed, locking the door fast upon me.

Thus far Anthony Dalaber hath prosecuted this story, who, before the finishing, departed 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury; the residue whereof, as we could gather it from ancient and credible persons, have we added.

After this, Garret was taken by Mr. Cole, the proctor, or his men, going westward, at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford, and so being brought back was committed to ward. He was cited before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswides, (now colled Christ's college) into St. Mary's church, where they, sitting in judgment, convicted him, according to their law, as an heretic, and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's church to Frideswides, and Dalaber likewise with him, Garret having his red hood on his shoulders like a master of arts. After that they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken.

There were suspected besides a great number to be infected with heresy, as they called it, for having such books of God's truth as Mr. Garret sold unto them; as Mr. Clarke, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Bets, Taverner the musician, Radley, with others of Frideswides college; of Corpus Christi college, as Udal and Diet; with others of Magdalen college; one Eden, with others of Gloucester college; and two black monks, one of St. Austin's, of Canterbury, named Langport, the other of St. Edmund's-bury, monk, named John Salisbury; two white monks, of Bernard college; two canons, of St. Mary's college; (one of them named Robert Farler, afterwards bishop of St. David's, and burned in queen Mary's time) these two canons, because they had no place in the university with the others, they went on the contrary side of the procession bare-headed, and a beadle before them, to be known from the others. Divers others there were whose names I cannot remember, which were forced and constrained to forsake their colleges, and seek their friends.

Against the procession time there was a great fire made upon the top of Carfaxe, whereinto all such as were in the said procession, either convicted or suspected of heresy, were commanded, in token of repentance and renouncing their errors, every man to cast a book into the fire as they passed by.

After this, Mr. Garret, flying from place to place, escaped their tyranny, until he was again apprehended, and burned with Dr. Barnes.

The third that was burnt with them was Master *William*

Hierome, Vicar of Stepney, who was a diligent preacher of God's word, and one that laboured to root out of the hearts of his hearers their superstitious practices, &c. and being called to preach at Paul's cross, he there maintained justification by faith, for which he was convened before the king, imprisoned in the Tower, and at last burned with the other two in Smithfield, where he comfortably slept in the Lord.

At the same time three others were burned in Smithfield for popery, which raised a great doubt in the common people about religion, not knowing which side to follow; and this was occasioned by reason of the discord in the privy counsel, one part being Protestants, and the other part Papists, and as one part called for the execution of Papists, so did the other of Protestants.

Yea, by reason of the six articles, such a number were apprehended in London, Calais, and other places, that all the prisons in London were too little to hold them, and many of them were imprisoned in halls.

In 1541, there was one *John Porter*, who was cruelly handled for reading upon a bible in Paul's church, which, in the days of the Lord Cromwell, had been set there by Bonner, Bishop of London.

This, with five other Bibles being set up in that church, divers well-disposed people used much to resort thither to read, and hear them read, amongst whom this John Porter used sometimes to be occupied, to the edifying both of himself and others. He, by diligent reading of the Scriptures, and hearing the sermons of those which set forth the truth of the gospel, grew very expert, so that very many resorted to hear him read, the rather because he had a very audible voice; this, at last, so vexed Bonner and his chaplains, that he sent for Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. Porter answered that he trusted he had no way offended contrary to the law thereby. Bonner charged him for making expositions upon the text, and for gathering multitudes about him to raise tumults. This Porter denied; yet did Bonner send him to Newgate, where he was miserably loaden with irons, both hands and legs, with a great collar of iron about his neck, whereby he was fastened to the wall in the dungeon. After a while he sent for a kinsman of his, who, by bribing the keeper, obtained that he was put amongst the thieves and murderers. But Porter, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, giving them such instructions as himself had learned out of the holy Scriptures. For this he was complained of, and carried down into the lowest dungeon, where he was so cruelly oppressed with bolts and irons, that, within six days after, he was found dead.

About the same time John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln burned two godly men upon one day; one, *Thomas Bernard* for teaching the Lord's prayer in English; the other, *James Morton*, for keeping the Epistle of James translated into English in his house. Also one master *Barber*, master of arts in Oxford, a godly and learned man, that disputed stoutly and accurately against the doctrine of transubstantiation, through the iniquity of the times, was, at last, brought to a recantation, after which he never prospered, but wore away with grief and sorrow till he died.

In 1544, there was in London one *Robert Testwood*, who was famous for his skill in music, whereupon the musicians in Windsor college desired doctor Sampson, the dean, that he might have a place amongst them; but some of the canons hearing that Testwood smelled of the new learning, (as they called it) opposed his coming: yet at last, through the importunity of the former, a place being void, he was sent for, and, after four or five days' trial, his voice and skill were so well liked, that he was settled amongst them, and was in good esteem both with the dean and canons. But when they perceived, by his discourse at their tables, that he was a Lutheran, they began to mislike him, and one day, being at dinner with Dr. Rawson, there was one Master Ely present, who took occasion to rail against laymen for studying the Scriptures. Testwood could not bear it, but replied, that he thought it no hurt for them to study and know the Scriptures; and after falling into further discourse about the supremacy of the pope, Testwood, in his heat of arguing, affirmed that every king in his own dominion ought to be the head of the church under Christ. This so nettled Ely, that he flung from the table; and though Testwood assayed to pacify him, yet he could not prevail, Ely labouring to incense all the house against him. But whilst he was seeking to destroy Testwood, the act of Parliament came forth to abolish the supremacy of the pope, and to make the king the head of the church, by which means Testwood for the present escaped.

But not long after Testwood walking in the church, and seeing the pilgrims come by flocks from Devonshire and Cornwall, with candles and images to offer to king Henry at Windsor, his spirit was moved at that great idolatry, whereupon he went to them, and in a gentle manner exhorted them to leave that false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true, and ever living God aright, shewing them how God plagued his people for going a whoring after such stocks, and stones, and would plague them, and their posterities if they would not leave it: This, through God's mercy prevailed so far with some of them, that they said they would never go on pil-

grimage more. Then going further, he saw another company licking, and kissing a white lady of alabaster that stood behind the high altar, wiping their hands upon it, and then stroking their own heads and faces, which so stirred up his zeal, that with a key which he had in his hand, he struck off a piece of the image's nose, saying, See, good people, what it is, nothing but a piece of earth that cannot help itself, how then will you have it help you? For God's sake be no more thus deluded, and so he went home to his house.

The rumour hereof presently spread abroad, and many came to see it, and amongst the rest one Symonds, a lawyer, who seeing the nose on the ground, took it up, saying, It should one day be a dear nose to Testwood.

Many were greatly offended with Testwood, the canons for his speaking against their profit, the wax-chandlers for hindering their market, &c. Yea, some of the canons' men threatened to kill him: hereupon Testwood kept his house, minding to send a relation of the whole business to the Lord Cromwell, his special friend. The canons hearing of his intent, sent their verger to him to request him to come to church, but he refused in regard of the danger: then did they send for a justice of peace, who being come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle with it: but at the canon's request, he went to Testwood, and upon his faithful promise for his security, he prevailed with him to go to church: by the way one of the canon's men drew his dagger at Testwood, but the justice of peace secured him: and after debate in the Chapter-House, the business was so pacified, that Testwood might quietly come, and go to church as formerly.

After a while, upon Relic-Sunday (as they called it) wherein every one was to carry a relic in procession, Testwood, amongst others had Beket's Rochet proffered him, but he pushed it from him, saying, If they gave it him, he would wipe his *tail* with it: some other jests he put upon them, which much angered them.

Dr. Sampson, the dean, being dead, and one master Francklen succeeding him, one of the canons, in despite of Testwood and his sect, set up a paper on the church door in commendation of our Lady, ascribing to her, redemption, justification, salvation, &c. Testwood seeing this paper, plucked it down: the next morning such another was set up, and Testwood coming a little before the dean, plucked it down again: whereupon the dean asked him, how he durst be so bold to pluck it down in his presence? Testwood answered, that he marvelled much more that he would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up, adding, that he would justify what he had done. This boldness so of-

fended them all, that they said he was an heretic, and would roast a faggot one day for this gear. Yet notwithstanding all the threats of his enemies, he lived in peace, till after the death of the Lord Cromwell, and till Winchester had so far insinuated into the king's affections, that he wholly ruled the roast; at which time, Testwood being sick in bed, was fetched out, and cast into prison, together with Anthony Pearson, John Marbeck, and Henry Filmer; and after a while, they were all brought forth to judgment before Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, and some others: Testwood's indictment was, for that when the priest lifted up the sacrament, he said, 'What, wilt thou lift it up so high? what yet higher? take heed that thou let him not fall:' as also for that at such times he used to look down on his book, or another way, that he might not see the sacrament: whereupon he said, 'I beseech you, my Lord, whereon did he look that marked me so well?' 'Marry,' quoth the king's attorney, 'he could not be better occupied than to mark such heretics that so despised the blessed sacrament.'

Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called *The Concordance of the Bible;* which being not half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the council. When he came before them to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, at the upper end of the board. Who beholding the poor man a while, said, "Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?"—"No, my lord," quoth he. "No!" quoth the bishop, "that is a marvellous thing."—"Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be."—"Then thou knowest the matter well enough," quoth the bishop; and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, "Understandest thou the Latin tongue?"—"No, my lord, but simply."—"No!" quoth the bishop. And with that spake Mr. Wrisley, (then secretary to the king) "He saith but simply."—"I cannot tell," quoth the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance, and so began to declare to the rest of the council, the nature of a Concordance," and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the book of Isaiah the prophet, and turning to the last chapter, gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. The other looking upon it, said, "Forsooth, my lord, I wrote it."—"Read it," quoth the bishop. Then he read it thus: "Heaven is my

seat, and the earth is my footstool."—"Nay," quoth the bishop, "read it as thou hast written it." "Then shall I read it wrong," quoth he, "for I had written it false." "How hadst thou written it?" quoth the bishop. "I had written it," quoth he, thus: "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is not my footstool."—"Yea," quoth the bishop, "that was thy meaning."—"No," my lord," quoth he, "it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your lordship seeth, this word *not* is blotted out." At this time came other matters into the council, so that Marbeck was had out to the next chamber. And when he had stood there a while, one of the council, named Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one Belson of the guard, saying to him, "Take this man and have him to the Marshalsea, and tell the keeper that it is the council's pleasure that he shall treat him gently, and if he have any money in his purse, as I think he hath not much, take it from him, lest the prisoners take it, and minister it to him as he shall have need." And so the messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsea, and did his commission faithfully.

On the next day, by eight o'clock in the morning, there came one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen into the Marshalsea, whose man brought after him two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. "I had no such command," quoth he, "for the messenger who brought him yesternight from the council, said it was their pleasure he should be gently used."—"My lord," quoth the gentleman *, "will not be content with you;" and so taking the books of his man, he called for a chamber, up to the which he carried the prisoner, and casting the books from him upon a bed, sat down and said, "Marbeck, my lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware, lest thou cast away thyself wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thyself much good; if not, thou shalt do thyself much harm. I assure thee, my lord laments thy case, for as much as he hath always heard good report of thee; wherefore, now see to thyself, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with great heretics, as Hobby and Haines, with other more, and knowest much of their secrets; if thou wilt now open them at my lord's request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to a better living."

"Alas, Sir," quoth he, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either

* This gentleman was a Mr. Knight.

with Mr. Hobby or Mr. Haines, as to know any part of their minds." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my lord doth know well enough in what estimation they held both thee and Anthony Pearson, for your religion."—"For Anthony Pearson," quoth he, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life; and as for myself, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest poor man, and shewed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am."

"Perhaps," quoth the gentleman, "thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy friends, lest they hearing thereof might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee: which thou needest not to fear, I warrant thee, *for they are safe enough, and never like to pleasure thee any more, nor any man else.*"

With that the water stood in Marbeck's eyes. "Why weepest thou?" quoth the gentleman. "Oh Sir," quoth he, "I pray you pardon me; these men have done me good, wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them, as I would be comforted myself."—"Well," quoth the gentleman, "I perceive thou wilt play the fool;" and then he opened one of the books, and asked him, "if he understood any Latin?" "But a little, Sir," quoth he. "How is it then," quoth the gentleman, "that thou hast translated thy book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the tongue?"—"I will tell you,' quoth he: "in my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small." Then the gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought: and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the books, and so departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber, the door fast shut upon him.

About two hours after, the gentleman came again, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and sat down upon the bedside, and said, "By my troth, Marbeck, my lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good." "When wast thou last with Haines?" "About three weeks ago," said he, "I was at dinner with him."—"And what talk," quoth the gentleman, "had he at his board?" "I cannot tell now," quoth he. "No!" says the gentleman, "thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space."—"Yes, sir," quoth he, "such familiar talk as men use at their tables, is most commonly by the next day forgotten, and so it was with me."—"Didst thou never," quoth the gentleman, "talk with him, nor with any of thy fellows, of the mass, or of the blessed sacra-

ment?" "No."—"Now forsooth," quoth the gentleman, "thou liest; for thou hast been seen to walk with Testwood, and other of thy fellows, an hour together in the church, when honest men have walked up and down beside you, and as they have drawn near you, ye have stopped your talk till they have been past you, because they should not hear whereof you talked." "I deny not," quoth he, "but I have talked with Testwood and other of my fellows, I cannot tell how often, which makes not that we talked either of the mass, or of the sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters, that they would not wish that every man should hear, and yet far from any such thing; therefore, it is good to judge the best." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "thou must be plainer with my lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weenest." "How plain will his lordship have me to be, Sir?" quoth he. "There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his lordship's pleasure." "What tellest thou me," quoth the gentleman, "of thy conscience? Thou mayest with a safe conscience utter those that be heretics, and so doing, thou canst do God and the king no greater service." "If I knew, sir," quoth he, "who was an heretic indeed, it were another thing; but if I should accuse him to be an heretic that is none, what a worm would that be in my conscience so long as I lived? yea it were a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment." "In faith," quoth the gentleman, "thou knowest as well who are heretics of thy fellows at home, and who are not, as I do know this paper to be in my hand; but it is no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I warrant thee. And what a foolish dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they are, seeing it standeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth?" "Whatsoever," quoth he, "they shall say of me, let them do it in the name of God, for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, than I know." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "if thou wilt so do, my lord requireth no more. And, forasmuch, as now thy wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things to remembrance, I have brought thee ink and paper, that thou mayest write such things as shall come to thy mind." "O Lord," quoth Marbeck, "what will my lord do? Will his lordship compel me to accuse men I know not whereof?" "No," quoth the gentleman, "my lord compelleth thee not, but gently entreateth thee to say the truth; therefore, make no more ado, but write, for my lord will have it so;" and so laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Marbeck was now so full of sorrow, that he knew not what to do, nor how to set the pen to the book to satisfy the bishop's mind, unless he accused men, to the wounding of his own soul. And thus being compassed with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down weeping, and said,

"O most merciful Father of heaven, thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor prisoner which is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special grace, that to save this frail and vile body, which shall turn to corruption at his time, I have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my christian brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake."

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words: "Whereas your lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my fellows at home; pleaseth it your lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, be an offence; more than this I know not."

The gentleman came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. "How now," quoth he, "hast thou written nothing?"—"Yes, Sir," quoth he, "as much as I know." "Well said," quoth the gentleman; and took up the paper, which, when he had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lord's body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. "Therefore," quoth he, "go to it again, and advise thyself better, or else thou wilt set my lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone." "By my troth, Sir," quoth Marbeck, "if his lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said." "Then wilt thou repent it," quoth the gentleman; and so putting up his pen and inkhorn, departed with the paper in his hand.

The next day, by eight o'clock in the morning, the bishop sent for Marbeck to his house at St. Mary Overy's, and as he was entering into the bishop's hall, he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a roll in his hand, and going toward the great window, he called to him, and said, "Marbeck, wilt thou cast away thyself?" "No, my lord," "I trust not."—"Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What the devil made thee meddle with the Scriptures? Thy vocation was another way,

wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou didst esteem it." "Yes, my lord, I do esteem it, and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me." "And why the devil," quoth the bishop, "didst thou not hold thee there?" And with that he went away from the window out of the hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, the bishop began on this wise: "Ah, sirrah, the nest of you is broken, I trow." And, unfolding his roll, which was about an ell long, he said, "Behold, here be your captains, both Hobby and Haines, with all the whole pack of thy sect about Windsor, and yet wilt thou accuse none of them." "Alas, my lord, how should I accuse them, of whom I know nothing?" "Well," quoth the bishop, "if thou wilt needs cast away thyself, who can help thee? what helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy book?" "Forsooth, my lord, none." "None!" quoth the bishop, "how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help!" "Truly, my lord, I cannot tell in what your lordship doth take it, but, howsoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man, save God alone." "Nay," quoth the bishop, 'I do not discommend thy diligence, but what shouldest thou meddle with that thing which pertaineth not to thee?"

On speaking these words, one of his chaplains (called Mr. Medow) came up, and stopped at a window, to whom the bishop said, "Here is a marvellous thing: this fellow hath taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which book, when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men at the least, and yet will he insist, that he hath done it alone." "But say what thou wilt," quoth the bishop, "except God himself would come down from heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it:" and so going forth to a window where two great Bibles lay upon a cushion, the one in Latin, and the other in English, he called Marbeck unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, "Canst thou English this sentence?"—"Nay, my lord," quoth he, "I trow I be not so cleaver to give it a perfect English, but I can make out the English thereof in an English Bible." "Let's see," quoth the bishop. Then Marbeck turning the English Bible, found out the place, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

And as the bishop was going, the gentleman who had examined Marbeck in the Marshalsea the day before, said, "Shall this fellow write nothing while your lordship is at mass?" "It is no matter," quoth the bishop, "for he will tell nothing;"

and so went down to hear mass, leaving Marbeck alone in the gallery. The bishop was no sooner down, but the gentleman came up again with ink and paper. "Come, sir," quoth he, "my lord will have you occupied till mass be done;" persuading him with fair words, that he would soon be despatched out of trouble, if he would use truth and plainness. "Alas, sir," quoth he, "what would my lord have me to do? For more than I wrote to his lordship yesterday, I cannot." "Well, well, go to," quoth the gentleman, "and make speed," and so went his way. There was no remedy, but Marbeck must now write something; wherefore he, calling on God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as near as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the bishop was come from mass, and had looked on the writing, he pushed it from him, saying, "What will this do? It hath neither head nor foot." "There is a marvellous sect of them," quoth the bishop to his men, "for the devil cannot make one of them betray another." Then was there nothing among the bishop's gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but *crucifige* upon the poor man. And when the bishop's white rochet was on him, "Well, Marbeck," quoth he, "I am now going to the court, and intended, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the king's majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging, here in mine house; but seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devil, for me."

Then was he carried down by the bishop's men, with many railing words. And coming through the great chamber, there stood Dr. London, with two more of his fellows, waiting the bishop's coming by them into the hall; he was there received by his keeper, and carried to prison again. In half an hour after that, the bishop sent one of his gentlemen to the under keeper, called Stokes, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut in a chamber alone, and when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And further, that he should suffer no manner of person, not his own wife, to come and see him, or give any thing to him. When the porter (who was the cruellest man that could be, to all such as were imprisoned for any matter of religion, and yet, as God would, favourable to this poor man) had received this command from the bishop, he clapped irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the house, that no man should speak to Marbeck, whensoever he was brought down, and so he continued the space of three weeks or more, till his wife was suffered to come to him.

About three weeks before Whit-Sunday, Marbeck was sent for to the bishop of London's house, where sat in commission

Dr. Capon, bishop of Sailsbury; Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford; Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely; Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's clerk, having before them all Marbeck's books. Then said the bishop of Sailsbury, "We are here in commission, sent from the king, to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." —"I am content, my lord," quoth he, "to tell you the truth so far as I can," and so took his oath. Then the bishop of Salisbury laid forth before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works six years ago. "For what cause," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "didst thou gather them?"—"For no other cause, my lord, but to come to knowledge. For I being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of Scripture, thought by reading of learned men's works to come the sooner thereby: and where I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted, as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margin, that had set out the work."—"So methinks," quoth the bishop of Ely, who had one of the books of notes in his hand all the time of their sitting, "thou hast read of all sorts of books, both good and bad, as seemeth by the notes."—"So I have, my lord." "And to what purpose?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "By my troth," quoth he, "for no other purpose but to see every man's mind." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, who, looking upon it awhile, lifted up his eyes to Dr. Oking, standing next him, and said, "This man hath been better occupied than a great many of our priests." To which he made no answer.

Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?"—"Truly, my lord, no help at all."—"How couldst thou," quoth the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a concordance meant, without an instructor?"—"I will tell you, my lord, what insructor I had to begin it. When Thomas Matthew's Bible came out in print, I was much desirous to have one of them; and being a poor man, not able to buy one of them, determined with myself to borrow one amongst my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of Moses in fair great paper, and was entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Mr. Turner chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cause, 'Tush,' quoth he, 'thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a concordance in English.'—'A concordance,' said I, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find

out any word in the Bible by the letter, and that there was such an one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learning to go about such a thing. 'Enough,' quoth he, 'for that matter, for it requireth not so much learning as diligence. And seeing thou art so industrious a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a good exercise for thee.' And this, my lord, is all the instruction that ever I had, before or after, of any man."—"And who is that Turner?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "Marry," quoth Dr. May, "an honest learned man, and a bachelor of divinity, and some time a fellow in Magdalen College, in Oxford."—"How couldst thou," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "with this instruction, bring it to this order and form, as it is?"—"I borrowed a Latin Concordance," quoth he, "and began to practise, and at last, with great labour and diligence, brought it into this order, as your lordship doth see."—"It is a great pity," quoth the bishop of Ely, "he had not the Latin tongue."—"So it is," quoth Dr. May. "Yet I cannot believe," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "that he hath done any more in this work than written it out after some other that is learned."

"My lords," quoth Marbeck, "I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and grant to my request if it shall seem good unto you." "Say what thou wilt," quoth the bishop, "I do marvel greatly wherefore I should be so much examined for this book, and where I have committed any offence in doing of it, or not? If I have, then were I loath any other to be molested or punished for my fault: therefore, to clear all men in this matter, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book that is undone. Ye see that I am yet but at the letter L, beginning now at M, and take out what word ye will of that letter, and so in every letter following, and give me the words on a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin concordance, and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other."

"By my troth, Marbeck," quoth the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspicion." "That he shall," quoth they all. Then they bade Dr. Oking draw out such words as he thought best on a piece of paper, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into familiar talk with Marbeck, (as the bishops of Ely and Hereford were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, so far as they durst) who, perceiving the bishops so pleasantly disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. "I shall tell thee, Marbeck," quoth the bishop of Sarum, "Thou art in a better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some

who would give forty pounds to be in no worse case than thou art, whose sayings the other affirmed." Then came Dr. Oking with the words he had written; and while the bishops were perusing them over, Dr. Oking said to Marbeck, very friendly, "Good Mr. Marbeck, make haste; for the sooner you have done, the sooner you shall be delivered." And as the bishops were going away, the bishop of Hereford took Marbeck a little aside, and informed him a word which Dr. Oking had written false, and also to comfort him, said, "Fear not, there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done; for if you had written a thousand heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you." And so they all went with the bishop of Sarum to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the hall at the steward's board, and had wine and meat sent down from the bishop's table.

When dinner was done, the bishop of Sarum came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the bishop what time his lordship would appoint him to do it in. "Against to-morrow this time," quoth the bishop, which was about two of the clock, and so departed.

Marbeck, now being in his prison-chamber, fell to his business, and so applied himself, that by the next day, when the bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as contained three sheets of paper and more, which, when he had delivered to the bishop of Sarum, Dr. Oking standing by, he marvelled, and said, "Well, Marbeck, thou hast put me out of all doubt; I assure thee," quoth he, putting up the paper into his bosom, "the king shall see this ere I be twenty-four hours older." But he dissembled every word. For afterwards the matter being come to light, and known to the king what a book the poor man had begun, which the bishops would not suffer him to finish, the king said he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So Marbeck departed from the bishop of Sarum to prison again, and heard no more of his book.

Upon Whitsunday following, in the afternoon, was Marbeck sent for again to St. Mary Overy's, where he found Dr. Oking with another gentleman in a gown of damask, with a chain of gold about his neck, sitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the church door, looking upon an epistle of John Calvin's which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church alone. Now as

soon as Marbeck saw the face of a gentleman, (which before he knew not by reason of his apparel) he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsea, and caused him to write in the bishop's gallery, but never knew his name till now he heard Dr. Oking call him Mr. Knight. This Mr. Knight held forth the paper to Marbeck, and said, "Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is." When Marbeck had taken the paper, and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the notes in the margin. "Then I perceive," quoth Knight, "thou wilt not go from thine own hand." —"No, sir," quoth he, "I will deny nothing that I have done." —"Thou dost well in that," quoth Knight; "for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough besides to try out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me whose hand is the first leaf?" "That I cannot tell you," quoth Marbeck. "Then how camest thou by it?" quoth Knight. "There was a priest," answered he, "dwelling with us five or six years ago, called Marshall, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written, desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared but an hour or two, and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again." "And how came this hand in the margin," quoth he, "which is a contrary hand to both the others?" "That I will tell you," quoth Marbeck. "When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste that I understood not the matter, whereof I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation; and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the margin as you see: and shortly after this it was his chance to go beyond the seas, (where he lived not long) by reason whereof the epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf, or the notes in the margin, were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell." "Tush, quoth Dr. Oking to Mr. Knight, "he knoweth well enough that the notes be Haines's own hand." "If you know so much," quoth Marbeck, "ye know more than I do; for I tell you truly, I know it not." "By my faith, Marbeck," quoth Knight, "if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell." "By my truth, Sir," quoth Marbeck, "if you do tear the whole body in pieces, I trust in God you shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully." "If thou be so stubborn," quoth Dr. Oking, "thou wilt die for it." "Die! Mr. Oking," quoth he, "wherefore should I die? You told me the last day before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of concordance they took me, I should be delivered; and shall I now die? This is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend, but I know the cause; ye have read the ballad I made of Moses'

chair, and that hath set you against me; but whenever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not but I shall die God's true man and the king's." "How so?" quoth Knight. "How canst thou die a true man unto the king, when thou hast offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and most of thy notes thou hast written, directly against the six articles?" "No, Sir," quoth Marbeck, "I have not offended the king's laws therein; for since the first time I began with the concordance, which is almost six years ago, I have been occupied in nothing else; so that both this epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the king's general pardon." "Trust not to that," quoth Knight, "for it will not help thee." "No, I warrant him," quoth Dr. Oking; and so going down to the body of the church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to prison again.

The jury that went upon these men was packed for the purpose, and therefore quickly brought in their verdict that they were all guilty. Then the prisoners being carried away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their master Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord who had enabled them to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but enable them with steadfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments through his free mercy and goodness. And so they spent the greatest part of the night in prayer, both for themselves and their persecutors, who through blind zeal had done they knew not what. Yea such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that they which watched them, whereof the sheriff was one, with divers gentlemen more, were constrained to shed great plenty of tears. In the morning came a pardon for Marbeck.

When the other three were to go to execution, Anthony Pearson seeing many people in the prison, said the Lord's prayer; and so taking their leave of Marbeck, praising God for his deliverance, and praying for his increase in godliness, they desired his hearty prayers, kissed him, and so went out of the prison. As they passed through the streets, they desired all the faithful to pray for them, to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, it being the happiest thing that ever befel them. When they came to the place of execution, which was under Windsor castle, Pearson with a cheerful countenance embraced the stake, and kissing it, said, "Now welcome mine own sweet wife, for this day shalt thou and I be married together, in the love and peace of God." When they were all

bound to the stake, Filmer said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts unto God; for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer." Testwood lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, prayed to the Lord above to receive his spirit. Pearson pulling some straw unto him, laid some of it upon the top of his head, saying, "This is God's hat, now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only, I trust this day to enter into his joy." And so they yielded up their spirits into the hands of their heavenly Father, with such humility and steadfastness, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts to have died with them.

A while after, King Henry seeing the sheriff of Berkshire and Sir Henry Foster together on horseback, in Guilford park, he asked them how his laws were executed at Windsor? Then they beseeching his grace of pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never sat on a matter which went so much against their consciences, as did the death of Pearson, Testwood, and Filmer: delivering to him a pitiful tale of the casting away of these three men. The king turning his horse's head, rode away, saying, "Alas, poor innocents." After which he withdrew his favour from the bishop of Winchester, and caused Dr. London and Simonds to be apprehended and examined before the Council; where it was proved to their faces that they were both perjured. And thereupon they were adjudged to ride about Windsor, with their faces towards the horse's tail, and to stand upon the pillory at Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers on their heads, for accusing the aforesaid martyrs falsely, and for perjury. *This was written by John Marbeck, that should have been one of them.*

About the same time there was one *Adam Damlip*, formerly chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester, after whose death he travelled through France, Germany, and Italy; in which journey he conferred with many learned men about the controversies in religion: and at last he went to Rome, where he thought to find much strictness in life, and sincerity in religion. But instead thereof he met with such blaspheming of God, contempt of the truth of Christ, looseness in life, and such abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that in his heart he abhorred to stay there any longer, though he was much solicited thereto by cardinal Pool, who offered him good preferment. In his return homeward he came to Calais, and waiting there for passage into England, he fell into acquaintance and conference with some honest men; who finding him learned, and well affected to the

truth, earnestly solicited him to stay there awhile, and to preach two or three days, that he might do good to the people, and refresh himself after his tedious travels. This he consented to, if he might have the license of those in authority thereunto. Hereupon these honest men brought him to the Lord Lisle, the king's Deputy for the town and marches of Calais, acquainting him what conference had passed between them. Which known, the Lord Lisle instantly desired him to stay there, and to preach three or four days, or longer at his pleasure; promising that he should have both his own, and the commissaries' license to authorize him therein. After he had preached three or four times, he was so liked both for his learning, utterance, and sincere doctrine, that he had not only the approbation of the common people and soldiers, but the lord deputy and most of the council gave him much praise and thanks for the same. The lord deputy also proffered him his table in his house, if he pleased to stay and accept of it; and to accommodate him with whatsoever he lacked, if it could be had for money; either for books or any other things, if he would stay and preach to them so long as it should seem good to him. Master Damlip heartily thanked his lordship for his kind and liberal offer, but refused to accept of the same; only desiring him to appoint him some quiet place in the town, where he might have the opportunity of applying himself to his studies without disturbance: promising that he would twice every day preach unto them, according to that talent which God had lent him.

The lord deputy much rejoiced hereat, and sending for an honest man, (William Stevens,) requested him to receive master Damlip into his house, promising to pay him whatsoever he should demand, as also to send him every meal one of the best dishes from his own mess. Master Damlip desired his lordship to forbear that kindness, telling him that a spare diet was most convenient for students: yet this noble lord would not be restrained, but that very meal he sent it. Thus for the space of twenty days together, he preached every morning learnedly, plainly, and holily about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, inveighing against, and confuting the popish errors about it. His opinions he confirmed by Scripture and ancient fathers: exhorting the people to turn from popery; declaring what a zealous papist he had been, and how God wrought upon him by seeing the abominable wickedness which was universally practised in Rome: shewing that if gain or ambition could have prevailed with him, he might have been entertained by cardinal Pool; but durst not do it out of conscience, being convinced of the truth by the Holy Scriptures. His auditory increasing daily, he was forced to preach in a larger place. And

at last he spake against the picture of the resurrection, which was in St. Nicholas church, shewing that it was but a delusion set up by the French before Calais was English. Whereupon there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy, and some other commissioners, to search whether there were three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood, as was commonly believed. Upon search no such thing was found, but three white counters instead thereof, which they had painted like hosts, and with them a bone that is in a sheep's tail; which the next day master Damlip shewed to the people out of the pulpit, and by the lord deputy they were sent unto the king.

The devil, envying the progress of the gospel, stirred up the prior of the White Friars, to bark against master Damlip, and privately to write letters against him to the clergy in England; so that a while after he was sent for to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury. There he met with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and some others. Before these he constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, answering and confuting all their objections; so that his adversaries marvelled at it, insomuch as some of them said plainly that the Scriptures knew no such term as transubstantiation: yet did Winchester threaten him with fire and faggot, if he persevered in defence of what he had spoken. Master Damlip answered, that the next day he would deliver to them in writing, what he had affirmed, and what he would stand to. That night Dr. Cranmer sent him word, that if he appeared any more, he could not escape burning. Whereupon the next day, he sent them four sheets learnedly written in Latin, containing a confession of his faith, together with a defence of his opinion by testimonies of Scripture, ancient fathers, &c. And then stepped aside into the west country, and there lived obscurely, whilst God's people in Calais suffered great persecution. For the king being informed that there was great dissention in Calais, by reason of diversity of opinions, which might endanger the loss of it, at the motion of the Lord Cromwell he sent over two godly and learned divines, who in effect preached the same doctrine that Damlip had done, and so quieted the people, that they left the town in peace. After their departure, one William Smith, minister of one of the churches, began to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against papistry; exhorting men obediently to hear the word, and no longer to oppose or contemn the same. Some of the council persuaded him that he should not be so violent, but to wait patience till God should change their hearts, &c. To whom he answered in the pulpit:—"Some, (saith he) advise me that I should not be so earnest against the contemners of God's word, &c. but let all such take heed, for I fear that God,

for their contemning of his word, will not long bear with them, but make some of them that they shall not have an head left upon their shoulders to bear up their caps withal;" which afterwards came to pass.

Thus master Smith continued in the diligent employment of his talent, till the devil raised up some of his instruments to persecute him, and other godly christians, which were all sent over into England. They wrote letters to the privy council, suggesting that by the means of Damlip they were infected with horrible heresies and errors. Of these persons thus accused, Thomas Brook, Ralph Hare, James Cock, and James Barber, were first sent for over, and committed to prison at Westminster; afterwards they were brought before the bishops. Grievous letters were written against them from Calais, by their adversaries; so that if God had not mightly preserved them, they had all certainly perished.

Ralph Hare, though so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet through God's grace was very zealous; and so holy and inoffensive in his life, that none of his enemies could accuse him of sin. He was charged for speaking against auricular confession, holy bread, holy water, &c. as also that he would not swear an oath, nor use any pastime, but used to be in a corner by himself looking on his book. This the commissioners charging him with, he said, "My good Lords, I take God to record, that I would not willingly maintain any error or heresy: wherefore I beseech you, let my accusers come before me face to face: for if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will not deny it; and if it be truth, I will stand to it; if an error, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it: I mean, if it be against God's holy word. For the Lord is my witness, I daily pray to God that I may know the truth and shun errors, and I hope God will preserve me from them." The bishop of Winchester replied, I perceive now that thou art a naughty fellow. "Alas, my lord, said Hare, what evil have I spoken?" The bishop answered, "Marry, Sir, you said the Lord, the Lord, and that is, *Symbolum Hæreticorum.*" "What is that, my lord, said Hare, for God's sake tell me." "Thou art naught, thou art naught," said the bishop. This made Hare to tremble, which Winchester perceiving, said, "By my troth I pity thee, for in good faith I think thou art a good simple man, and wouldst mean well enough if thou hadst not bad schoolmasters, &c. therefore I advise thee to submit thyself to us, it is best for thee so to do." Hare, falling upon his knees, said that he submitted himself to them. Then did they give him his oath to be obedient to all ecclesiastical laws: which done, they enjoined him to abjure, and bear a faggot. He, hearing this harsh sen-

tence, cried out that he was rigorously dealt withal, having nothing proved to his face against him. But the bishop told him, he must either do that penance or be burnt.

Then was *Thomas Brook* called for; who was charged by letters from Calais, that he was a seditious fellow, that he had contributed towards maintaining Damlip, and that he with some others had gathered money towards his entertainment. Brook proved this charge false. Then were some other witnesses produced, who testified that he should say, that which the priest held up at mass was not the natural body of Jesus Christ, &c. Brook denied the charge, yet confessed that he had some private talk with one of the witnesses, wherein he shewed him the right use of the sacrament. After some further debate he was dismissed for the present.

During these troubles at London, master *Smith* and *John Butler* were under examination at Calais, and charged for denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; and presently they were sent for over by a pursuivant into England, and there brought into the Star-chamber, and charged with sedition and heresy; after which they were committed to the Fleet. The next day they were sent for, to come before divers bishops; and first Butler was charged for speaking irreverently of the sacrament of the altar.

John Butler, commissary of Calais, was charged for suffering Damlip so long to preach there, and not punishing him: his answer was, that he was so countenanced by the lord deputy and all the council, that he could do no otherwise than he did; and so he was at last put out of his office, and dismissed. Afterwards he and others were enjoined penance by bearing faggots, &c.

The king was again informed, that there were such divisions in his town of Calais, by reason of diversity of opinions, that it was in great danger of being lost. This so incensed the king, that he sent over commissioners to examine the business: and amongst the commissioners there was one Dr. Currin, who preached a sermon to exhort all men to charity: but whilst he had charity in his mouth, there was such burning charity in his heart, that if God had not prevented, there had been a hundred persons burned or hanged in that place. But through God's good providence, the mischief returned upon the heads of the contrivers of it. For four of the chief accusers of the brethren were sent over into England: whereof two, Clement Philpot, and Sir Edmund, a curate, were hanged, drawn, and quartered at London: but of all those that were accused, not one of them lost one hair of his head.

Amongst those honest men that were persecuted, was *William*

Stevens, whose crime was entertaining master Damlip; whereunto he answered, that what he had done, was at the earnest request of the lord deputy: yet was he sent over into England, and made prisoner in the Tower. The lord deputy was shortly after sent for over, and imprisoned in the same place; who there continued till he died. But the wicked lady, his wife, a great enemy to the truth, immediately after her husband's apprehension, fell distracted, and so continued for many years.

Master Damlip, who formerly made an escape into the West-country, after he had taught a school there about a year or two, was again apprehended, brought to London, and by Winchester imprisoned in the Marshalsey about two years more. There he behaved himself so blamelessly, that he was beloved of the whole house; but especially of the keeper, master Massy, who suffered him to have the liberty of the house, whereby he did much good amongst the common prisoners, rebuking them for their wickedness, and keeping them in such order, that the keeper had a great treasure of him. But Damlip, considering how he could not employ his talent to God's glory as he desired, resolved to write a Latin epistle to the bishop of Winchester, earnestly desiring to come to his trial. "For (said he) I know the worst; I can but lose my present life, which I had rather do than lie here so useless."

Having prepared his epistle, he delivered it to the keeper, entreating him to present it to the bishop of Winchester. The keeper performed his request, and coming home late at night, the prisoners, who had stayed supper for his coming, seeing him look so sad, deemed something to be amiss. At last, casting his eyes upon Damlip, he said, "I can tell thee tidings; this next day thou and I must go to Calais:" and withal pulled out a piece of wax, with a label hanging at it. When master Damlip saw it, he said, "Well, well, I now know what is the matter; I shall die at Calais." "Nay, (said the keeper) I trust it is not so." "Yes, yes, (said Damlip) I know it is so, and I praise God for his goodness therein." At supper all were very heavy but master Damlip, who ate as well as ever he did in his life. So that some asked him how he could eat his meat so well, knowing that he was to die so soon. To whom he answered, "Ah Masters, do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein?" The next day the keeper carried him to Calais, and committed him to prison; and the Saturday following he was hanged, drawn and quartered. Before his death, being told that his quarters should be set up in four places: "And where then shall my head be?" said he. "Upon the Lanthorn gate," answered the

other. "Then said he, I need not provide for my burial." At his execution, Sir Richard Ellerker, knight-marshal, would not suffer him to declare his faith, or the cause which he died for: but said to the executioner, "Have done, despatch the knave; for I will not away till I see the traitor's heart out." But shortly after, in a skirmish between the French and English, Ellerker was slain, and by the French was stripped naked, and had his heart cut out of his body. Being thereby made a terrible example to all bloody and merciless persecutors.

William Stevens, and the other thirteen honest men, were all pardoned by the king, and sent home again to Calais.

A poor labourer at Calais, that had been a hearer of master Damlip, in some company said, that he would never believe that the priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was accused, and condemned by one Harvey, commissary there; who, with opprobrious words, railed upon him, calling him heretic, and saying that he should die a vile death. The poor man answered, that he was no heretic, but one that held the true faith of Christ, and said, whereas thou sayest that I shall die a vile death, thou thyself shalt die a vile death, and that shortly. The poor man was burnt, and Harvey, within half a year after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Calais, for treason.

Not long after, there was one *Dod*, who, coming out of Germany to Calais, was there apprehended, together with some Protestant books which he brought with him, and, upon examination, remaining bold, and constant in the truth, he was condemned and burnt.

There was also in the same place one *William Button*, a soldier, and servant to the king, who, being of a pleasant wit, used to jeer the priests, when he met with them; and on a time, a friar bringing pardons from Rome, whereby for four-pence a piece he said he could deliver any soul out of purgatory, Button went to him, and asked him if the holy father, the Pope, could deliver souls out of purgatory? The friar answered, that there was no doubt of it. Why then, said Button, doth he not of charity deliver all the souls out of it? For this he was accused to the commissary, who railed upon him, calling him heretic, and enjoining him to carry a faggot, and causing his wages to be taken from him. But Button repairing to the king, and acquainting him with the whole business, the king restored him to his place, and mended his wages.

In 1546, there was one *Kerby*, and *Roger Clarke*, apprehended at Ipswich, and carried before the Lord Wentworth, and other commissioners. Whilst these two men were in the gaoler's house, there came in one Robert Wingfield, and said to Kerby, remem-

ber the fire is hot, and therefore take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to go through; the terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet, therefore it is better for thee to accept of mercy whilst it may be had, than to shrink afterwards, &c. Kerby answered, Ah! Master Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, there stands a Christian soldier in the fire: I know that fire, water, the sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give us strength to bear. If thou beest at that pass, said Master Wingfield, I will leave thee, for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn; and so he bade him farewell. When Kerby and Clarke were at the judgment-seat, they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven, making their prayers privately unto God for a space. Then were articles read against them, and it was demanded of them whether they believed that, after the words of consecration, the bread was not turned into the very body and blood of Christ? Answered, they did not believe it, but that the sacrament was instituted by Christ, to put us in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding, for the remission of sins, &c. Then was sentence given upon them both: Kerby to be burned in the same town of Ipswich; and Clarke to be burnt at Bury. Sentence being passed by the Lord Wentworth, Kerby, reverently holding up his hands, and bowing himself, said, Praised be Almighty God. The Lord Wentworth, whispering to one that sat by him, Kerby said, Speak out, my lord, and if you have done any thing against your conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts do freely forgive you, &c. The Lord Wentworth, blushing, said, I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing but what the law requires, and so they were sent away. The next morning Kerby was brought forth into the market-place, where all things were ready for his burning. Then did he put off his clothes to his shirt, and so was fastened to the stake. Many were the spectators; and amongst the rest the Lord Wentworth, and most of the justices in the country. Kerby stood trimmed up with faggots, broom, and straw, as if he should be married with new garments, nothing changing his countenance, but with a meek spirit glorified God. Then did a monk of Bury begin to preach, and as oft as he alleged scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade them believe him. Then did Kerby say *Te Deum*, his belief, and other prayers, in English; after which he said, I have done, execute your office, good master sheriff. Then was fire put to him, in which he called upon God with a loud voice, so long as his remembrance continued, and so ended his life, the people shouting and praising God for his constancy.

Roger Clarke, of Mendesham, being carried to Bury, went barefoot to the place of his execution; by the way he met with the procession, but would neither move his cap, nor bow his knee to it, yea, with vehement words he rebuked their idolatry and superstition. At the place of execution he said the Magnificat in English, making a paraphrase upon the same, shewing how the Virgin Mary, though she might have rejoiced in her holiness as well as another, yet humbled herself to her Saviour. When the fire was set to him, he suffered intolerable pains, the wood being green that it would not burn; at last he was choked with smoke: and one pushing him on the head with a faggot-stick, he shrunk down into the fire, and resigned up his spirit unto God.

Anne Askew was descended from a good family, and had received an accomplished education; but the reader will best form his judgment of her by what follows, which was written by herself.

To satisfy your expectation, good people, said she, this was my first examination, in the year 1545, in the month of March.

First, Christopher Dare examined me at Sadler's hall, being one of the quest, and asked, if I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ? Then I demanded of him, wherefore was St. Stephens stoned to death? He said, he could not tell. I replied, no more would I answer his vain question.

He said, there was a woman, who did testify that I read, God was not in temples made with hands. I shewed him the seventh and seventeeth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, what Stephen and Paul had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took those sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearls amongst swine, for acorns were good enough.

He asked me, wherefore I said I had rather read five lines in the Bible, than hear five masses in the temple? I confessed that I said no less; not for the dispraise of either the epistle or the gospel, but because the one greatly edified me, and the other nothing at all.

He laid unto my charge, that I should say, if an ill priest ministered, it was the devil and not God.

My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But, that whosoever ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received nevertheless the body and blood of Christ.

He asked me if I did not think, that private masses helped the departed souls? I said, it was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

Then they brought me unto my lord mayor, and he examined me as they had before, and I answered him the same.

The bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures; for St. Paul forbad women to speak or to talk of the word of God. I answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is in the 1 Corinth. xiv. that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching.

The lord mayor then commanded me to prison; I asked him if sureties would not serve me; he made me short answer, that he would take none. In the compter, I remained eleven days, no friend admitted to speak with me. But in the mean time there was a priest sent to me, who said he was commanded by the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel. He asked me for what cause I was put in the counter? and I told him I could not tell.

He asked me, if I were content to be shriven? I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom. Then, said he, I would not have you think but that I, or any other who may be brought you, shall be as honest as they; for if we were not, you may be sure the king would not suffer us to preach. I answered with the saying of Solomon, "By communing with the wise I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scath," Prov. i.

He asked, if the host should fall, and a mouse did eat it, whether the mouse did receive God or not? I answered, seeing that you have taken pains to ask the question, I desire you to assoil it yourself, for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me. And he said it was against the order of schools, that he which asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

He asked me, if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter or not? I answered, that else I were no Christian woman; and I rejoiced that the time was so near at hand. He then departed with many fair words.

On the 23d of March, my cousin Britain went to the lord mayor, desiring him to be so good to me, that I might be bailed. My lord answered him, that he would be glad to do the best, but he could not bail me without the consent of a spiritual officer, requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me.

The chancellor answered, that the matter was so heinous, he durst not of himself do it, without my lord of London was made

privy thereto; but said he would speak to my lord of it, and bade him repair to him the next morning, and he should know his pleasure. Accordingly, upon the day after he came and spoke to the chancellor and bishop of London. The bishop declared that he was well contented that I should come forth, and appointed me to appear before him the next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon. He said, he wished there should be, at the examination, such learned men as I was affectioned to, that they might see, and report, that I was handled with no rigour. "I understand, she prefers Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she did know them to be learned and of a godly judgment."

Next day, in the forenoon, the bishop of London sent for me, and as I came before him, he said he was sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also, in any wise, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any points, for whatever I said in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, "Your lordship has appointed three o'clock; and as my friends will not come before that hour, I desire you to pardon my giving answers till they arrive." He said that he thought it meet to send for those who were before named. I desired him not to put them to the trouble, because the two gentlemen who were my friends were able enough to testify what I should say. Afterwards he went into the gallery with Mr. Spilman, and told him in any wise that he should advise me to utter all I thought. In the mean while he commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said, 'Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishops?' I answered, 'Sir, ask my accusers, for I know not as yet.' Then he took my hand, and said, 'Such books as this have brought you to the trouble you are in; beware, for he that made this book was an heretic, and burned in Smithfield.' I asked him if it was true what he had spoken? He said, he knew well the book was of John Frith's making. Then I asked him, if he was not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it, or knew the truth thereof; that such hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. I opened the book and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein, and so he departed from me. Immediately after came my cousin Britain, with divers others, among whom was Mr. Hall, of Gray's Inn. Then my lord of London persuaded me that I should utter all things that burthened my conscience; for he assured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my conscience, I thanked God, was burdened with nothing.

Then brought he forth this unsavoury similitude:—"that if a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. In like case," saith he, "can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burthened." "My conscience," said I, "is clear in all things; and to lay a plaister unto the whole skin would appear much folly."

Then he asked me, "Why I had so few words?" and I answered, "God had given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance; and Solomon saith, 'That a woman of few words is the gift of God.'"

He next laid to my charge, "that I had said that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry." I answered him, "That I had not said so." Howbeit the quest asked me, "Whether private mass did relieve departed souls?" Unto whom I answered, "O Lord, what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the death of the dear Son of God!" Then said my lord again, "What an answer is that?" "Though it be but mean," said I, "yet is it good enough for the question; and there is a priest," said I, "who was present before the mayor."

The chancellor then asked the priest, who said she spake it in very deed, before my lord mayor and myself.

Then were there certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, which tempted me much to know my mind. I answered them always thus: "What I said to my lord of London, I have said."

Then he rebuked me, and said, that "I had reported that there were sent against me threescore priests at Lincoln." "Indeed," quoth I, "I said so; for my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as they had made their boast; and when I heard it I went thither, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. I remained there nine days, to see what would be said to me; and as I was in the Minster, reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they without words speaking."

Then the bishop said, "I might thank others, and not myself, for the favour I found at his hand*; for he considered," he said, "that I had good friends, and that I came of a good family."

Christopher, a servant to Mr. Denny, said to his lordship, "Rather ought you, my lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake, than for man's." Then my lord sat down, and pre-

* Never surely did a bishop shew favour to a lady with so ill a grace.

sented me the writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner:—"I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church."

Then because I did add unto it the catholic church, he flung into his chamber in great fury. With that my cousin Britain followed, desiring him, for God's sake, to be a good lord unto me. He answered "that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me." Then my cousin Britain desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom.

Some time after, she was again apprehended, and carried before the king's counsel, where, having a question proposed to her by Master Kime, she answered, that my lord chancellor knew her mind already about that. Then some told her that it was the king's pleasure that she should open her mind to them: she answered them plainly that she would not do it, except the king pleased himself to hear her. They told her that it was not meet the king should be troubled with her: she replied that Solomon, the wisest of kings, was pleased to hear two common women. Then the lord chancellor asked her opinion about the sacrament: she answered, that she believed so oft as she received the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, she received therewith the fruits of his most glorious passion. The bishop of Winchester bade answer directly. She answered, she would not sing the Lord's song in a strange land. The bishop told her she was a parrot: to which she replied, that she was willing not only to receive rebukes from him, but whatsoever should follow besides, and that gladly. After much other debate she was imprisoned till the next day, at which time they asked her again what she said to the sacrament? She answered, that she had said what she could say. Then the bishop of Winchester, with some others, earnestly persuaded her to confess the sacrament to be the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ. She told two of them that it was a great shame for them to counsel her contrary to their own knowledge. After much other arguing, wherein she answered them acutely and holily, they dismissed her. The sabbath following she was very sick and like to die, whereupon she desired to speak with Mr. Latimer, but it would not be permitted: but in the extremity of her sickness they sent her to Newgate.

After a while she was brought to her trial in Guildhall, where she was required to recant, or else she was condemned by the law for an heretic. She answered that she was no heretic, nor deserved death by the law of God. Then they asked her if she would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood? She said, yea; for Christ that was born of the blessed virgin is now in heaven, and will come from thence at the latter day, &c. That

which ye call your god, is but a piece of bread, and, after a time, will grow mouldy, and turn to nothing that is good, therefore it cannot be God. Then they wished her to shrive herself to a priest. She said she would confess her faults to God, for she was sure that he would hear her with favour: hereupon she was condemned. After her condemnation she wrote a confession of her faith, and sent it to the king, to this purpose: I, Anne Askew, of good memory, though God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known to your Grace, that forasmuch as I am, by the law, condemned for an evil-doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency; and as I ever said, so I shall continue to the end, that I utterly abhor and detest all heresies; and as concerning the Lord's Supper, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood: I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as the Catholic church of him doth teach, for I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart; and thus for lack of learning I briefly end: Anne Askew.

A few days after, she was sent for from Newgate before the bishop of London and Master Rich, who, with flattering words, endeavoured to withdraw her from God. Then one Nicholas Shaxston, an apostate, counselled her to recant, to whom she said, that it had been good for him if he had never been born. From thence she was sent to the Tower, whither came to her Master Rich, and another of the council, charging her, upon her obedience, to discover what men or women she knew to be of her sect, which she refused. Then they asked her of diverse great ladies. She said, if she should charge them of any thing, she was not able to prove it. Then they asked her how she was maintained in prison? She answered, that it was by means of her maid, who, as she went abroad, made her moan in the streets, and the apprentices gave her money. Then they said that divers ladies and gentlewomen gave her money. She answered, that one brought her ten shillings, saying, that the Lady Hereford sent it her; another brought her five shillings, and said, that the Lady Deny sent it her, but she knew not whether they said true or not. Then they put her to the rack, because she confessed no ladies nor gentlewomen that were of her opinion: there they kept her a great while, because she lay still, and did not cry. The manner of it was thus: they led her down into a dungeon, where the rack was, and the lieutenant of the tower bade the gaoler pinch her on the rack, which being done, he was about to take her out; but Wrisley the chancellor

bade the lieutenant to rack her again, but he, tendering her weakness, refused; whereupon the chancellor threatened to complain of him to the king; and himself and Mr. Rich, throwing off their gowns, played the tormentors themselves, first asking her whether she was with child? She answered, that they need not spare for that, but do their wills upon her; and so quietly and patiently praying unto God, she abode their tyranny till her bones and joints were all plucked asunder: then the lieutenant caused her to be loosed, whereupon she fell into a swoon; and when she had recovered again, she sat on the bare floor above two hours, reasoning with the Lord Chancellor, who, with many flattering words, persuaded her to leave her opinion; but, saith she, my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and I hope will do to the end. Then was she carried to an house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever patient Job had. Then the Lord Chancellor sent her word, that if she would leave her opinion she should want nothing, otherwise she should be sent to Newgate, and presently burned. She returned him answer, that she would rather die than deny her faith. When she was returned to Newgate, she there wrote a confession of her faith, which she concluded with this prayer: "O Lord, I have more enemies now than there be hairs of my head; yet, Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight, Lord, thou in my stead, for on thee cast I my care: with all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, which am thy poor creature; yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them which are against me, for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt, of thy merciful goodness, forgive them that violence which they do, and have done unto me. Open thou also their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight which is acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy truth aright, without the vain fancies of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it."

The day for her execution being come, she was carried in a chair into Smithfield, being unable to go by reason of her former cruel racking; there she was tied by the middle, with a chain to the stake to hold up her body. Then did Dr. Shaxton preach a sermon; and when he delivered the truth she confirmed it, but when he spake that which was false, she said, now he misseth and speaks without book. The sermon being ended, Wrisley, the Lord Chancellor, who was there present, sent her letters, offering her the king's pardon if she would recant; but she, refusing to look upon them, said, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then fire being put to her, being compassed with flames, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord, 1546.

There was burned at the same time with her *Nicholas Belerrian*, a minister of Shropshire, *John Adams*, a tailor, and *John Lacels*, a gentleman, one of the king's servants, who beholding her invincible constancy, and being stirred up by her exhortations, were more emboldened in their sufferings.

About the same time one *Rogers* was condemned, and burned in Norfolk for the six articles.

The same year, the king being come from Boulogne, information was given to him, that his queen, *Katharine Parre*, was much given to reading, and studying the holy Scriptures; and that she had entertained divers godly and learned men to instruct her in the same, with whom also she had frequent conferences about spiritual matters; as also that ordinarily in Lent, every afternoon, one of her chaplains preached to her and her ladies, and gentlewomen, and to others that pleased to hear; in which sermons they oft touched such abuses as were rife in the church. At first the king seemed to like well of it, which made her the more bold, sometimes freely to debate with the king about points of religion, often beseeching him, that as he had to the glory of God, and his own eternal fame, begun a good work in banishing the Pope's supremacy, so he would perfect what he had begun, thoroughly cleansing the church of the dregs of popery, whereof much remained yet behind. The king, though he was grown very testy, and froward, yet out of his singular affections to her, was content to hear her: for never did maid more seek to please her mistress, then she did with all painful endeavour apply, herself, by all virtuous means, in all things to please his humour. She was also very beautiful, virtuous, and of a comely personage, which greatly delighted the king: But some subtle and malicious instruments of Satan, fearing what might be the issue of it, sought by all means to embitter the king against her: these were the bishop of Winchester, Wrisley the lord chancellor, and others of the council and privy chamber, hoping that if they could but take away her, that was the only patroness of the professors of the truth, they might by fire and sword without control, destroy the small remainder of God's poor flock.

The king growing sickly and froward, left off his accustomed manner of visiting the queen: and, therefore she, when she understood that it was a fit season, would visit him of her own accord, at which times she would earnestly solicit him, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church.

Winchester being present at one of these times, and perceiving the king not to be very well pleased with her; when she was gone, he maliciously endeavoured to stir up the king's indignation against her, suggesting that the queen did much forget herself to hold an argument with His Majesty, and that it was

not fit for any of his subjects to reason so malapertly with him, who was the learnedest prince in Christendom: He suggested also, that the religion held by the queen, did not only disallow and dissolve the politic government of princes, but taught the people, that all things ought to be in common: so that he durst boldly affirm, that the greatest subject in the land, speaking such words as she did, and defending such arguments, had with indifferent justice by law deserved death: yet he pretended, that he durst not without warrant from His Majesty, speak his knowledge of the queen, lest by her and her faction he should be destroyed: but if His Majesty would become their patron, he with others of his faithful councellors, could in a short time disclose such treason, cloked with the veil of heresy, that His Majesty should easily perceive how dangerous it was to nourish such a serpent in his bosom, &c. And so with heavy countenance and whisperings he held his peace. This much stirred up the king's displeasure against the queen, the rather being jealous and mistrustful of his estate: yea, he was so far irritated by Winchester and his consorts, that he gave them warrant and command to draw up articles against her, which would touch her life: having thus obtained their end, they departed. Their next work was to suborn witnesses to accuse and betray her, and to find out what books she had in her closet, which were forbidden by law: they thought it best also to begin with those ladies which were most familiar with her, and of her blood, as the Lady Margaret, countess of Pembroke, sister to the queen, the Lady Jane, and the Lady Terwit, who for their virtuous dispositions were much in favour with her, whose closets and coffers should also have been searched: the queen herself also being apprehended, should by barge be conveyed to the Tower. The king being made privy to this device by Winchester and Wrisley, he seemed to approve it, and thus the day, time, and place for the apprehension of these persons was concluded on.

The king at this time lay at Whitehall, and by reason of his distemper seldom stirred abroad, and the time approaching for the apprehension of the queen; she, poor Lady, suspected nothing of it, and, therefore, used after her accustomed manner, when she came to the king, still to deal with him about religion as formerly she had done: But one night, after she had taken her leave of him, the king imparted the whole design to Dr. Wendy his physician, that he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a doctress as she was, and withal, enjoining him upon his life not to utter it to any creature living: But, behold the providence of God! For as the Lord would have it, the bill of articles drawn up against the queen, and subscribed by the king's own hand, fell from the bosom of one of these

counsellors, which being found by a godly person, was immediately carried to the queen, who reading the articles, and knowing the king's hand, was surprised with such a sudden fear, that she fell a wailing, making such piteous moan as was lamentable to see. The king hearing that she was in peril of her life, sent his physicians to her: and Dr. Wendy, knowing the cause better than the other, began secretly to break with her about the articles, telling her that he knew well of them, though he stood in danger of his life by revealing them, yet to quiet his conscience he could not but give her warning of them, beseeching her somewhat to conform herself to the king's mind, not doubting, but that by her humble submission she should find him favourable to her: Shortly after, the king hearing of her dangerous condition, came to her: to him, therefore, she uttered her grief, fearing, as she said, lest His Majesty had taken displeasure against her, &c. whereupon he, like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words somewhat eased her perplexed mind, so that she began to recover, and, thereupon, the king departed. After this the queen commanded her ladies to convey away all their books which were against the law: and so taking a fit season in an evening she went to visit the king, who was conferring with some of his bedchamber: when he saw her, he entertained her very courteously, and of himself began to commune with her about religion, seeming desirous to be resolved by the queen of certain doubts, which he proposed to her: She perceiving his drift, with mild and reverend countenance answered him thus: Your Majesty knows right well, neither am I ignorant what weaknesses attend our sex, and, therefore, we are inferior, and subject to man our head, whence all our directions must proceed. God hath made man in his own likeness, endued him with more excellent gifts, &c. But he hath made woman of man, by whom she is to be governed, and directed, &c. Seeing, therefore, God hath appointed such a natural difference, and your Majesty is so excellent in wisdom, and I a poor silly woman, so much inferior to you, why should your Majesty propose such difficult cases to me? Yea, when I have said what I can, I must, and will refer myself to your Majesty's wisdom, as to my supreme head, and governor next unto God, by whom I must be directed. Not so by St. Mary, said the king, you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, not to be instructed, and directed by us. If your Majesty, said she, take it so, you are much mistaken, for I have always been of opinion that it was very unseemly for a woman to take upon her the office of an instructer, but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him.

And what I have formerly discoursed of with your Majesty's

leave, wherein some seeming difference hath appeared: I have not done it so much to maintain my opinion, as to minister talk, that your Majesty might with the less grief pass over the painful time of your infirmities: as also that by your Majesty's learned discourse I might reap some profit, wherein I have not missed my aim, always referring myself to your Majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.

Is it so, sweet heart, said the king? Did your arguments tend to no worse end? Then are we now as perfect friends as ever we were heretofore: then taking her in his arms, and kissing her, he said, It doth me more good to hear these words of thy mouth, than if I had heard of a hundred thousand pounds that had fallen to me: and so after many tokens of joy, and liking, and other pleasant discourse, he gave her leave to depart.

Her adversaries knew nothing of this, and, therefore, were providing for her apprehension, which was to be the very next day, at which time they intended to carry her to the Tower. The day, and almost the hour being come, the king intending to take the air, went into the garden, whither the queen also went to him, being sent for by him: at which time the king disposed himself to be as merry with her as ever he was in all his life before: When suddenly in the midst of their mirth, in came the lord chancellor with forty of the king's guard at his heels, whom the king sternly beholding, went to him, and upon private conference together, the king called him knave, arrant beast, and fool, withal commanding him out of his presence. The king after his departure, returned to the queen, who perceiving him to be much chafed, with sweet words endeavoured to qualify his displeasure, saying that though she knew not what just cause His Majesty had to be offended with the lord chancellor, yet she besought him, if the cause were not very heinous, that for her sake he would pass it by. Ah poor soul, said the king, little dost thou know how ill he deserves this grace at thy hands: On my word, sweet heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go. The queen in few words made a charitable reply to this, and so they parted: By this it appears how by the merciful providence of God, she escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody persecutors and enemies, which if God had not prevented had wrought her ruin.

About the same time there was one Sir *George Blage*, of the king's privy chamber, against whom they suborned false witnesses to accuse him for speaking against the mass: whereupon Wrisley, lord chancellor, sent him to Newgate, and the next day he was arraigned, and condemned at Guildhall, and within a day or two after, should have been burned in Smithfield. This being heard amongst those of the privy chamber, they were

whispering amongst themselves, which the king could never abide, and, therefore, asked them the cause of it? They told him the whole story, making suit to him for his pardon, the Earl of Bedford much promoting the same: The king being much offended that they should come so near him as into his privy chamber without his knowledge and consent, sent for Wrisley, commanding him presently to draw up his pardon himself, whereby he was set at liberty. Sir George afterwards coming into the king's presence, the king said to him, Ah my Pig (for so he used to call him.) Yea, said he, If your Majesty had not been better to me then your bishops were, your Pig had been roasted before this time.

Presently after Winchester, and his accomplices set forth a cruel proclamation in the king's name for abolishing the Scripture, and all other such English books as gave any light on the truth of the Gospel. This being obtained, they rejoiced at it, thinking that now they had for ever suppressed the Gospel, so that it should never rise again: and to strike the greater terror into men's minds, they made a diligent search after the professors of the truth, took the names of many, of whom some were driven away, some apprehended, and laid up in prison, so that they made no question of attaining their wicked ends: But the Lord who had a care both of his truth, and people in the midst of these subtle devises, took away King Henry within four months after the said proclamation, whereby all their hopes were laid in the dust. Which proclamation here followeth.

A Proclamation for abolishing English Books, set forth by the king, in 1546, *the eighth day of July.*

"The king's most excellent majesty understanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's Scripture, divers lewd and evil-disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by books imprinted in the English tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and his word, by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugn the truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's majesty in this his realm; his highness minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said books, is enforced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as followeth:—

"First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree, soever he or they be, shall

after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of Tindal's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament holden at Westminster in the four and thirtieth and five and thirtieth year of his majesty's most noble reign; nor after the said day shall receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be or shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tindal, Wickliff, Joy, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other book or books, containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year thirty-four or thirty-five: but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English book, or books, to his master in that household, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other, and the master or ruler of the house, and such other as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable, of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the sheriff of the shire, or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese, to the intent the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the king's majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the king's majesty's most honourable council, before the first day of October next coming.

"And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the king's majesty is most graciously contented by this proclamation to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the said books; and commandeth that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said books in his keeping, or be proved and convinced by sufficient witness before four of the king's most honourable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and

ransom to His Highness for the same, as by His Majesty, or four of His Grace's said council, shall be determined, &c.

" Finally, His Majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition, soever he or they be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English books concerning any manner of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute, any English book printed in outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person, dwelling within this his grace's realm, or any other His Majesty's dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed so to do, by His Highness's express grant to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited, and therewithal to incur His Majesty's extreme indignation!"

The Persecution of the Duke of Somerset.

King Henry the Eighth being dead, his only son Prince Edward, our English Josiah, succeeded him: under whom the Protestant religion was established, popery and superstition abolished, and the church and people of God enjoyed peace. Only the Duke of Somerset, a godly man, by the malice of some of the nobility, who were either popishly addicted, or that sought to raise themselves upon his ruin, met with great troubles and persecution. King Edward had three uncles by his mother's side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymour; whereof Edward was made Protector of the king and realm, Thomas was made Lord High Admiral of England. These two brethren so long as they continued firmly knit together in the bonds of brotherly love, preserved both themselves, the king, and kingdom from danger. But the subtle old serpent, envying their felicity and the progress of the gospel, by slandrous and envenomed tongues sowed betwixt them matter of discord, then of suspicion, and lastly of extreme hatred; the Duchess of Somerset blowing up the coals of contention between them: yet was this breach, by the mediation of friends, for a time healed. But within a short space after, through the instigation of some that were back friends to the gospel, it brake out again, to the trouble of the realm and their own destruction. And first the lord admiral was attainted and condemned for treason, and lost his head at the Tower-hill, March 20, 1549. Presently after, insurrections arose in the kingdom; whereupon the Earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, was sent into the western parts, and the Lord Dudley, earl of Warwick, was sent with an army into Norfolk, where, with much difficulty, he appeased the rebels, and so returned.

After his return, great consultations were held by him and some other lords, at London, against the lord protector, who was with the king at Hampton Court. Whereupon the protector wrote to the Lord Russel in the west, giving him notice of their conspiracy against the king and him, and of the false and forged crimes which they laid to his charge, and which they scattered abroad to his dishonour; and therefore he required him to hasten with all the forces that he could make, to Windsor, for the defence of the king and him.

To this message the Lord Russel returned answer, that he much lamented this division, and looked upon it as a great judgment of God upon the realm, and that he would hasten with his forces towards Windsor; yet humbly beseeched his lordship, that the king might not be put into any fear, nor that their private quarrels might endanger the peace of the kingdom.

From Hampton Court the king sent Secretary Peters to the lords at London; but instead of answering the king's message, they detained the secretary. Whereupon the lord protector wrote to them, that he wondered they had stayed the secretary, and not vouchsafed to return an answer to his majesty by any other. That he was sorry to see their doings, bent with violence to bring the king and him to those extremities of using arms for their own just defence. Yet assuring them, that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place, he would be ready, for preventing the effusion of Christian blood, to accept of them. Professing that he preferred the king's welfare, and the tranquillity of the realm, before his own life.

This reasonable proposal of the lord protector, was little regarded by those unreasonable lords, who still resolved to proceed in their purpose. And for this end they called upon the lord mayor and aldermen to keep a good watch by night, and a good ward by day for their safety. Then they demanded of them five hundred men to fetch the lord protector from Windsor from the king; but that was denied them without the consent of the common council. Whereupon the lords going to the lord mayor's house, and sending for the sheriffs, drew up a proclamation against the lord protector, wherein they charged him with many and grievous crimes. This coming to his ears, a letter was sent from Windsor, signed by the king and lord protector, to the lord mayor and common council, requiring them to send ten thousand well appointed men out of the city to Windsor for their safety.

The Lords had present notice of this letter; whereupon they also wrote to the common council, not only for a sufficient guard to fortify the city, but requiring them not to obey any proclamations or injunctions that should come to them from Windsor.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, receiving these two letters at the same time, were in a great strait what to do. The recorder moved that they would assist the lords: but a stout and wise citizen, master George Stadlow, standing up, minded them of the mischief and miseries which befell the city, for assisting the lords in the time of the baron's wars, though (as was pretended) justly undertaken: and therefore gave his advice that the king's command should be obeyed, and that the lords should be moved to join with them in a petition to the king, that it would please his highness to hear such complaints against the government of the lord protector as might be justly alleged, and proved; whereby he doubted not of a good issue, &c. The effect of this motion was, that the lords sent Sir Philip Hobby to accuse the protector to the king; whereupon he was made a prisoner in a port of Windsor castle. The next day the lords repaired to the king, and the day following they brought away the protector prisoner through the city to the Tower. Shortly after, the lords went to the Tower, where they charged him with sundry articles, maliciously purposing his ruin. But God in mercy was pleased to frustrate their expectation; the king so labouring for his uncle, that three days after, he was released out of the Tower, and the proclamation was called in, whereby he had been proclaimed a traitor. And thus he was restored, though not to his office, yet to his liberty, which he enjoyed two years after. At the end whereof his malicious adversaries so far prevailed, that he was again cast into the Tower, and shortly after brought forth to his arraignment, and was carried through the city with the axe before him, with many bills and halberts. In Westminster Hall before the lords, which were his judges, he was charged with treason and felony. The lawyers, without modesty or honesty, according to their usual custom in the like cases, used many unseemly speeches, vile taunts, and despiteful rebukes against him: all which he patiently and quietly underwent: neither inwardly fretting, nor returning evil language to them again, but like a lamb, imitating the example of his Saviour, he meekly took all things at their hands. His prudence also and temperance were no less seen in his answers to the articles objected against him. His peers, after consultation, passed this sentence:—That they acquitted him from the charge of treason, but found him guilty of felony.

The people hearing the lords say Not guilty, shouted exceedingly for joy, thereby shewing their great affections to him.

But the people were greatly deceived; for the innocent duke was condemned to die for felony, and so was returned to the Tower again. The felony that he was charged withal, was for seeking the death (as was pretended) of the Duke of Northumberland.

As he passed back through the city, great exclamations were again made by the people: some rejoicing that he was acquitted, others lamenting that he was condemned to die. In the Tower he continued for some days, till a writ for his execution came from the king and council; whereupon he was delivered to the sheriffs, and with a great guard of soldiers was carried to the scaffold on the Tower-hill. The good duke nothing changed either his voice or countenance; but kneeling on his knees, and lifting up his hands, he commended himself to God. His prayers being ended, he stood up, and with an unappalled spirit and alacrity he thus spake.—"Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, though I never offended against the king in word or deed, but have always been as true and faithful to this realm as any man hath been. Yet seeing by the law I am condemned to die, I acknowledge myself, as well as any others, to be subject thereto: wherefore to testify my subjection to the laws I am come hither to die: whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks unto God, who hath given me this time of repentance, who by sudden death might have taken away my life, so that I neither should have acknowledged him nor myself. Something I must mind you of touching the reformed religion, which so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth, and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent of it, but rejoice in it, seeing that it cometh so near to the order of the primitive church. This I look upon as a great mercy both to you and me: most heartily exhorting you all, that you will embrace it with all thankfulness, and set forth the same in your lives; which if you neglect to do, without all doubt great mischiefs will fall upon you." As he spake these words, suddenly a terrible noise was heard which affrighted all men. To some it seemed as the noise of a great tempest; to others as the crack of gunpowder blown up; to others as a great company of horsemen rushing upon them. This so astonished the people, that though they saw nothing, yet they all ran away, some into ditches, others into houses; some were so terrified that they fell grovelling to the ground: the very soldiers fell down. When all things were ready, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he lay down without shewing any sign of fear or change of countenance; and so crying, "Lord Jesus, save me," his head was severed from his shoulders, and he quietly slept in the Lord, 1552.

The day after the duke of Somerset's execution, a session of parliament was assembled. The first act they passed, was to establish the common prayer-book, as it was now amended. The bishops were required to proceed by the censures of the church, against such as came not to it; they also authorized the book of ordinations, and enacted the same penalties against offenders, that were in the act for the former book, three years

before. The papists took occasion on the changes now made, to say, that the new doctrines and ways of worship changed as fast as the fashions. It was answered, that it was no wonder if corruptions, which had been creeping in for a thousand years, were not all discovered and thrown out at once; and since they had been every age making additions of new ceremonies, it might be excused if the purging them out was done by such easy degrees. The book was not to be received till All-hallows, because it was hoped that in the interval the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws would have been finished. Another law passed for holy-days and fasts. "No days were to be esteemed holy in their own nature, but by reason of those holy duties which ought to be done in them, for which they were dedicated to the service of God. Days were esteemed to be dedicated only to the honour of God, even those in which the saints were commemorated; Sundays, and the other holy-days, were to be religiously observed, and the bishops were to proceed to censures against offenders. The eves before them were to be fasts, and abstinence from flesh was enacted both in Lent and on Fridays and Saturdays." This liberty to tradesmen to work on these days, was abused to a public profanation of them, but the stricter clauses in the act were little regarded. An act also passed, empowering churchwardens to gather collections for the poor, and the bishops to proceed against such as refused to contribute; which, though it was a bill that taxed the people, yet had its rise in the house of lords. An act likewise passed for the marriage of the clergy. "That whereas the former act about it was thought only a permission of it, as some other unlawful things were connived at; upon which the wives and children of the clergy were reproachfully used, and the word of God was not heard with due reverence; therefore their marriages were declared good and valid." The bishopric of Westminster was re-united to London, only the collegiate church was still continued.

The convocation now confirmed the articles of religion which had been prepared the former year, and thus was the reformation of worship and doctrine now brought to such a degree, that since that time there has been very little alteration made. But another branch of it was still unfinished, and which was now under consultation, touching the government of the church, and the rules of the ecclesiastical courts. Two acts had passed in the former reign, and one in this, empowering thirty-two to revise all the laws of the church, and digest them into a body. King Henry had issued out a commission, and the persons were named who made some progress in it, as appears by some of Cranmer's letters to him. In this reign it had been begun seve-

ral times; but the changes in the government had caused it to be laid aside. Thirty-two were found to be too many for preparing the first draught, so that eight were appointed to make it ready for them; these were Cranmer, Ridley, Peter Martyr, Trahern, Taylor, Lucas, and Gosnold, two bishops, two divines, two civilians, and two common lawyers; but it was generally believed that Cranmer drew it entirely by himself, while the rest only corrected what he designed. Haddon and Cheek were employed to put it in Latin; in which they succeeded so well, and arrived at so true a purity in the Roman stile, that it is equal to a work of the best ages of that state. The work was cast into fifty-one titles; perhaps it was designed to bring it near the number of the books, into which Justinian digested the Roman law. The eight finished it, and offered it to the thirty-two; who divided themselves into four classes, every one of which was to offer his corrections, and when it had passed through them all, it was to be presented to the king for his confirmation; but he died before it was quite finished, nor was it ever afterwards taken up.

The principal objects of this bill were so worthy of being known, that we here present our readers with the heads of them. The first title of it was concerning the catholic faith: it was made capital to deny the christian religion. The books of Scripture were reckoned up, and the apocrypha left out. The four first general councils were received, but both councils and fathers were to be submitted to only as they agreed with the Scriptures. The second enumerates and condemns many heresies, extracted out of opinions of the church of Rome, and the tenets of the anabaptists. The judgment of heresy was to lie in the bishop's court, except in exempted places. Persons suspected might be required to purge themselves, and those who were convicted, were to abjure and do penance, but such as were obstinate were declared infamous, and not to have the benefit of the law, or of making testaments, and so all capital proceedings for heresies were laid aside. Blasphemy against God was to be punished as obstinate heresy. Bishops were appointed once a year to call all their clergy together to examine them concerning their flocks: and itinerant preachers were to be often employed for visiting such precincts as might be put under their care. All marriages were to be after asking of bans, and to be annulled, if not done according to the book of common prayer. Corrupters of virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their goods, and suffer corporal punishment. Marriages made by force, or without consent of parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and mothers were required to suckle their children. A clergyman guilty of adultery was to forfeit his goods

and estate to his wife and children, or to some pious use; and to be banished or imprisoned during life: a layman guilty of it was to forfeit the half, and be banished or imprisoned during life: wives who were guilty were to be punished in the same manner. The innocent party might marry again after a divorce. Desertion, or mortal enmity, or the constant perverseness of a husband, might induce a divorce. Patrons were charged to give presentations without making bargains; to choose the fittest persons, and not to make promises till the livings were vacant. The bishops were required to use great strictness in the trial of those whom they ordained: all pluralities and non-residence were condemned, and all who were presented were to purge themselves of simony by oath. All superstitious purgations were condemned. Others followed about dilapidations, elections, and collations. The communion was ordered to be every Sunday in cathedrals, and a sermon was to be in them in the afternoon: such as received the sacrament were to give notice to the minister the day before, that he might examine their consciences. The catechism was appointed to be explained for an hour in the afternoon on holydays. After the evening prayer the poor were to be taken care of, penances were to be enjoined to scandalous persons, and the minister was to confer with some of the ancients of the people concerning the state of the parish, that admonitions and censures might be applied as there was occasion given. A rural dean was to be in every precinct to watch over the clergy according to the bishops' directions: archdeacons were to be over them, and the bishop over all; who was to have yearly synods, and visit every third year. His family was to consist of clergymen, in imitation of St. Austin, and other ancient bishops; these he was to train up for the service of the church: When bishops became infirm, they were to have co-adjutors: archbishops were to do the episcopal duties in their diocese, and to visit their province. Every synod was to begin with a communion, and after that, the ministers were to give an account of their parishes, and follow such directions as the bishop should give them. A scheme was drawn of excommunication, which was entrusted to churchmen for keeping the church pure, and was not to be inflicted but for obstinacy in some gross fault. Such as had the king's pardon for capital offences were yet liable to church-censures. Then followed the office of absolving penitents. They were to come to the church-door and crave admittance, and the minister having brought them in, was to read a long discourse concerning sin, repentance, and the mercies of God. Then the party was to confess his sin, and to ask God and the congregation pardon; upon which the minister was to lay his hands on his head, and to pronounce the absolution. Then a thanksgiv-

ing was to be offered to God at the communion-table for the reclaiming that sinner. The other heads of this work relate to the other parts of the law of those courts.

It is certain, that the abounding of vice and impiety flows, in a great measure, from the want of that discipline which was the glory of the Christian church in the primitive times: and it is a public connivance at sin, that there have not been more effectual ways taken for making sinners ashamed, and denying them the privileges of Christians till they have changed their ill course of life.

END OF VOL. II.

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